



CALENDAR OF ADMINISTRATIVE DOCUMENTS IN ADAB-I ALAMGIRI

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IN
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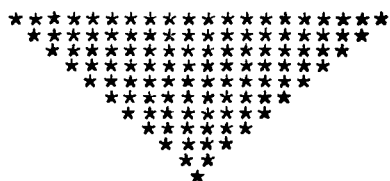

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A/-.

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P R E F A C E

For an understanding of the functioning of the Mughal empire a study of its provincial administration and the relationship between the centre and the provinces has been held to be of special importance. Aurangzeb's second Viceroyalty of the Deccan as illuminated by the papers contained in the Ādāb-i Ālamgīrī comprises the letters Aurangzeb wrote to the Emperor Shahjahan, Princess Jahanara, his son, Muhammad Sultān, nobles and officers. Some of these letters are, in form, hasbu-l amrs or written on his behalf, at his instructions.

In this dissertation I have offered a calendar of such documents in Ādāb-i Ālamgīrī as relate to problems of administration of the Mughal Deccan during Aurangzeb's second term as Viceroy. Passages of particular importance are translated in extenso, but omitting unnecessary titles and compliments. An introduction to the calendar sums up the main points emerging from this study. A Glossary of terms has been added.

I am very grateful to my supervisors, Prof. M. Athar Ali and Dr R.K. Perti, Director General, National Archives, New Delhi, who have helped me in many ways especially by offering constructive criticism of my work. My special thanks are due to Prof. Irfan Habib, my revered teacher, who has rigorously scrutinised the draft. He has been generous enough

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ABBREVIATIONS

<u>Adāb:</u>	<u>Ādāb-i 'Ālamgiri</u>
<u>Apparatus:</u>	<u>The Apparatus of Empire & C.</u>
<u>Atlas:</u>	<u>An Atlas of the Mughal Empire & C.</u>
<u>CEHI:</u>	<u>Cambridge Economic History of India</u>
<u>IESHR:</u>	<u>The Indian Economic & Social History Review</u>
<u>IHR:</u>	<u>The Indian Historical Review</u>
<u>Isl.Cul.:</u>	<u>Islamic Culture</u>
<u>Lahori:</u>	<u>Padshahnama</u>
<u>M.U.:</u>	<u>Ma'āsiru-l Umara</u>
<u>PIHC:</u>	<u>Proceedings of the Indian History Congress</u>
<u>Sālih:</u>	<u>'Amal-i Sālih</u>
<u>Shafiq:</u>	<u>Khulāsatu-l Hind</u>
<u>Thakur Lal:</u>	<u>Dastūru-l 'Amal-i Shahinshāhi</u>
<u>Zakhira:</u>	<u>Zakhīratu-l Khwānīn</u>

I N T R O D U C T I O N

Ādāb-i 'Ālamgiri is the most important source of information about the Mughal administration in the Deccan during the second viceroyalty of Aurangzeb (1652-58). The letters contained in this well-known collection mainly relate to the period when he was Viceroy of the Deccan under Shahjahan, and were written on his behalf by Munshi Qabil Khān. This collection also contains letters written on behalf of Prince Akbar, during 1678-80, by Muhammad Sadiq who edited the entire text in 1703-4.¹

The letters addressed to Shahjahan were written by Aurangzeb himself in conformity of the strict Mughal protocol, whereas letters addressed to other officials were drafted by his munshi, which occasionally contained some endorsements in Aurangzeb's hand writing. It appears that not only the copies but original correspondence also survived with the Mughal archives and the private individuals² and later on became very popular because of its refined literary style.

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1. Irfan Habib, An Atlas of the Mughal Empire, OUP, Delhi, 1982, 74.
 2. An original letter of Aurangzeb of 30th March 1689 (addressed to Prince Muhammad) acquired from a private party contains a note in Aurangzeb's handwriting, NAI, 1697.

These letters cover the period from 1649 to 59 A.D.¹ Since the present dissertation aims at providing a calendar of administrative documents contained in the Ādāb-i 'Ālāmgiri relating to Aurangzeb's second viceroyalty of the Deccan, a summary of the originals has been given besides full translations of the selected letters. With a view to make it more useful, comprehensive annotations have been also provided covering persons, place names as also references to other sources. The letters calendared have been arranged status-wise / rank-wise. For the sake of convenience, the letters addressed to particular individuals have been further arranged according to the chronological order on the basis of internal evidence and the evidence contained in other sources covering the period (1652-57 A.D.). Separate serial numbers along with sub-numbers have been assigned to each addressee for convenience of the readers. Repetitions have been avoided as far as possible.

The plethora of high sounding titles so common in medieval epistolary writings long-drawn passages in the praise and encomium and such other details which are not relevant to the subject have been conveniently omitted. While translating technical terms correct Persian nomenclature has been maintained in transliteration. Since in the Persian text the first few lines are normally devoted to compliments, the substance of the

1. Cf. Sarkar, Studies in Aurangzeb's Reign, Calcutta, 1933, 193.

letters starts with the words, pīr-i dastgīr salāmat, pīr-o murshid-i haqīqī, hukm-i jahān mutā'/hukm aqdas banifāz pai-wasta, murīd ba mauqif-i 'arz-i muqaddas mirasānad sāhibatuz zamāni, i'smat panah / qubāb / ihtijab, hamshīra-i muhtarma, qutbu'l Mulk, Dastūr wuzarāi-i daurān, Khān-i 'azīmush shān, amīru'l umarā, 'umdatul mulk, Khān-i 'ālī shān, Khān-i zīshān, natījatu'l umarā and so on and so forth.

The documents contained in this collection deal with miscellaneous issues in which a previous letter has no correlation at all with the following one. Sometime the issue is taken up at the very beginning of the letter and then is continued to the very end. As the manuscripts of Ādāb do not have paragraphing, the beginning of fresh issues and new points are indicated simply by using such words as pīr-o murshid-i haqīqī salāmat, chūn īn 'aqīdat kesh, mushfiqa-i man, qabl azīn, ānche, binābaran, barān, ba'd, lekin chūnache, ān, darīn wila, agar, az ānja, nigārish yāfta, yaqīn, etc. etc. Fortunately the printed text contains paragraphing with necessary diacritical marks.¹

In the preparation of this work, the printed Persian text of Ādāb has been used. However, this has been collated

1. 'Abdul Ghafur Chaudhuri (ed.) Ādāb-i 'Ālāmgiri, 2 vols., Pakistan, 1971.

with the available manuscripts¹ as well as the Ruqā't-i 'Ālam-gir² with a view to ensure more accuracy.

Though Ādāb comprises 744 letters and some miscellaneous items out of which only 111 documents, which have a direct bearing upon the Mughal administration in the Deccan, have been selected for calendaring as the following table would show:

Table - 1

S.No.	Name of the Addressee	Total No of Letters	Letters Calendared	P e r i o d
1	2	3	4	5
1	Shāhjahān	117	45	1652-6
2	Jahān Ārā	28	4	1652-7
3	Sister of Qutb Shah	4	1	1657
4	'Qutb Shāh	38	13	1653-6
5	'Alī 'Ādil Khān	1	1	1657
6	Ja'dullah Khān	24	11	1653-6
7	Shah'ista Khān	40	8	1652-6
8	Ja'far Khan	5	1	1655
9	Mīr Jumla	53	7	1656
10	Shāh Nawāz Khān	32	2	1656
11	I'tiqād Khān	10	6	1653-6

1. Department of History Library, AMU, Aligarh, and the National Archives, New Delhi.
2. Najib Ashraf, Ruqā't-i 'Ālamgir, Azamgarh, 1930.

Table - 1, continued ...

<u>S.No.</u>	<u>Name of the Addressee</u>	<u>Total No of Letters</u>	<u>Letters Calendared</u>	<u>P e r i o d</u>
<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>		<u>5</u>
12	Shāh Beg Khān	13	2	1656-7
13	Fāzil Khān	6	2	1653-6
14	Multafat Khān	23	3	1652-7
15	Nasīrī Khān	33	4	1657
16	Muhammad Beg	1	1	1656
		—	—	—
	Total	430	111	

It is clear from this table that out of 430 letters to 16 addressees, only 111 or 26% have been calendared.

The documents selected for calendar clearly brings to light various measures adopted by Aurangzeb to streamline the Mughal administration in the Deccan, viz. mansab and its obligations, jāgīr administration, crisis in mansabdārī and jagīrdārī systems, revenue administration and the relations with zamīndārs. The letters also contain information about Imperial kārkhānas, construction of forts and postal communication, etc. etc. These letters are indispensable for reconstructing the various aspects of the Mughal administration in the Deccan. An attempt is being made in the following pages to analyse the evidence contained in these letters under various heads:

I MANSAB AND ITS OBLIGATIONS:

Mansab system represented the steel-framework of the Mughal empire within which the nobility was organised. Mansab was dual in nature (i.e. zāt and sawār ranks) which determined a mansabdār's place in the official heirarchy as well as his payment and military and other obligations. The zāt rank indicated the personal status of the mansabdār as well as his personal pay according to the sanctioned schedules while the sawār rank showed the military contingent the incumbent was expected to maintain and its corresponding payment.¹

(1) Conditional Rank (Mashrūt)

Sawār rank was given along with the zāt rank and the conditional sawār rank was sanctioned in consideration of the services required of a particular post for the satisfactory discharge of his duties. A jagir to meet the salary of such rank was also assigned to him.²

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1. See W.H. Moreland, 'Mansab (Rank) in the Mogul State Service', JARS, Part II, No. 2, 1936, 643-65; A.J. Jaisar, 'Note on the Date of Institution of Mansab Under Akbar', Proc. Ind. Hist. Cong. (PIHC), Delhi, 1961, 156-7; Irfan Habib, 'Mansab System, 1597-1637, PIHC, 1967, Part I, 221-42; idem, 'Mansab and Salary Scales Under Jahangir and Shahjahan', Islamic Culture, 59, 3, 1985; Shireen Moosvi, 'Evolution of Mansab System Under Akbar Until 1596-7', JARS, No. II, 1981, 177-8.
 2. M. Athar Ali, The Mughal Nobility Under Aurangzeb, Bombay, 1970 (reprint), 41. Idem, 'Mansab and Imperial Policy Under Shahjahan', PIHC, 1975, 257-66.

Asadullah s/o Mir Fazlullah has been credited to be the first known holder of mashrūt rank in 1653.¹ Aurangzeb as Viceroy of the Deccan recommended to Shahjahan that Asadullah be given promotion of 500/800 (2-3h) conditional on his appointment as faujdār of Baglāna.² However, there are numerous instances of the conditional rank being awarded in the same year. Fathullah s/o Zakariya was appointed thānadār of Nandapur with a conditional rank of 200/200 (2x3h) following the transfer of Muḥammad Shāh Qadīmī as qila'dār of Qandahar with a conditional rank of 200/200 (2x3h).³ Mir Khalilullah Khān was appointed qila'dār of Fathabad (Dhārur) with 600 (2x3h) conditional on service and 500/200 as additional rank.⁴ Hoshdar s/o Multafat Khān was appointed topchi with a conditional rank of 200/100.⁵ Jultānpur and Nandurbār were assigned in the faujdārī of 'Uṣmān Afghān with a conditional rank of 200 sawar.⁶ Abul Fazl Ma'muri was recommended for appointment as

1. M. Athar Ali, Apparatus of the Empire, OUP, Delhi, 1985,
2. Document No. 1.12
3. Document No. 1.3
4. Document No. 1.12
5. Document No. 1.12
6. Document No. 1.5

faujdār of Onkapur and was given conditional promotion of rank of 100/100.¹ Khawāja Barkhurdār Khān's name was also recommended for conditional rank as he was appointed qila'dār of Ausa.² Ināyat Khān s/o Islām Khān was recommended for appointment as faujdār of Sarkār Mehkar.³ The qila'dārī and faujdārī of Tirambak was assigned to Shafqatullah with a conditional mansab of 100/10.⁴

Many more such appointments with conditional rank may be cited. It is, therefore, clear from the evidence contained in the Ādāb regarding the award of conditional rank, that Aurangzeb used it very frequently with a view to utilize the services of capable officials.

(ii) Month Scales

Shāhjahān's name is associated with the introduction of month scales or ratios⁵ for indicating difference between the official assessment of jama' and actual hāsīl. Since the

1. Document No. 1.13.

2. Document No. 1.45

3. Document No. 1.44

4. Document No. 1.22

5. Lahori, II, 567, clearly indicates the military obligations of mansabdār in accordance with their month ratios i.e. '12 monthly' or '11 monthly' jāgīrs and so on. See also N.A. Siddiqui, 'Implications of the Month Scales in the Mansabdārī System', PIHC, 1961, 57-62.

jāgīrs in the Deccan were not more than '4 monthly' or '3 monthly' and often even fell beyond this level as the revenue realization (hāsīl) of the Mughal Deccan progressively declined to $\frac{1}{4}$ th of the jama!,¹ the implementation of the month ratio indicated the real state of affairs in the Deccan. Even the officials transferred from North India received '7 monthly' jāgīrs in lieu of their sair hāsīl jāgīrs which naturally entailed a lower month scale.²

Since the month scales were also applied to cash salaries, the pay was higher per horse for the naqqi, placed in the higher month scales than those of lower categories, who were, however, comparatively better off before the promulgation of Shāhjahān's dastūru'l 'amal of 27th year.³ This order fixed Rs. 17½ per month per horse for 3 monthly jāgīrs and Rs. 15/- per mensum for two monthly jāgīrs.⁴ With a view to safeguard the interests of those who were thus adversely affected, Aurangzeb tried to impress upon Shāhjahān the necessity of its modification and succeeded in convincing him on this score. Consequently an exemption was made in the case of the Deccan for those placed in 2 and 3 month scales. They

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1. Document Nos. 1.35, 1.36
 2. Document No. 1.41
 3. Mirat-i Ahmadi, Vol. I, 228.
 4. Document No. 1.35

were now to be treated at par with 4 monthly mansabdārs in matters of payment as they received Rs. 20/- per month per horse.

(iii) Deduction From Pay

There used to be a number of deductions against the sanctioned claim (muqarrara talab). For example the deduction of one-fourth of dāms was applicable in case of some jāgīrs. But most of the jāgīrs were subject to a deduction of 1/5th to 1/6th. However, Aurangzeb strongly urged upon the central government for its revocation in view of the fact that income from the jāgīrs in the Deccan was very low and the mansabdārs were finding it rather difficult to maintain their contingents.¹ Due to the inability of the mansabdārs sometime the situation became so acute that the imperial clerks resorted to the withholding of the regular payment of Aurangzeb's salary due on the pretext/^{of} mutālība. Similarly at the time of muḥāsiba (settlement of accounts)² the entire revenue of pargana Posad was resumed to the khālīṣa sharīfa in satisfaction of the mutālība outstanding against Rao Karan.³

1. Document No. 1.36

2. Document No. 6.8

3. Document No. 1.42. He was assigned additional jāgīr of 18 lakh dāms from the revenues of pargana Posad in 1650, SDSR, 175-6.

(iv) Recruitment and Promotion

In theory the mansabdārs were appointed by the Emperor, but in actual practice recruitment was made on the recommendations of the princes and the leading nobles including governors.¹ The evidence contained in the Adab clearly shows that Aurangzeb made numerous recommendations for fresh appointments as well as promotions in rank during the second Vice-royalty of the Deccan. Aurangzeb asserted that he always recommended the cases of the deserving candidates for appointment as mansabdārs. He further stated that in recommending promotion the only criterion followed by him was merit² so much so that those found worthy of the rank of 1000 were recommended only for 900.³

Quite often Shāhjahān rejected Aurangzeb's recommendations for promotions and appointments. Aurangzeb recommended, for instance, Hoshdar s/o Multafat Khān for the post of dārogha-i topkhāna. Shāhjahān rejected the proposal and ordered the appointment of Ṣafī Khān or Mir Ahmad Rizwi.⁴ However,

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1. For details of procedure, see Ibn-i Hasan, Central Structure of the Mughal Empire, Delhi, 1970.
 2. Document Nos. 1.11, 11.4. Cf. Y.H. Khan, 'The Status of the Subedars and Diwans of the Deccan in the Time of Shahjehan', Isl.Cul., Vol. XX, No. 4, 388.
 3. Document No. 1.17
 4. Document No. 1.11

ultimately Aurangzeb succeeded in getting Hoshdar appointed.¹ Similarly, Aurangzeb was charged by the Emperor for being unfriendly to the Rajputs.² When the Viceroy of the Deccan recommended Baglāna for an official with an increase in the rank he was strictly censured by the Emperor who contested his right of assignment of his inā'm jāgīr as well as recommendations for an Imperial rank.³ These experiences had made Aurangzeb so much cautious that in one of the letters he wrote that he could neither assign jagīr nor recommend any increase in anyone's rank (in this case Murshid Quli Khan).⁴

Nevertheless Aurangzeb continued to make strenuous efforts in furthering the interests of his officials who came to believe that they would receive promotions only when they were favoured with the faujdārī and qila'dārī and consequently exerted themselves in this direction. For example, Muftakhir Khan accordingly requested for Fathabad.⁵ In this way Aurangzeb found himself in the most unenviable position; on the one hand he was constantly pestered by his officials for promotion

1. Document No. 1.12

2. Document Nos. 1.9, 1.10. It is curious that Aurangzeb was censured by Shāhjahān as being hostile to the Rajputs while he recommended the case of Rao Karan for promotion.

3. Document Nos. 1.5, 1.6

4. Document No. 1.20

5. Document No. 1.11

while on the other hand the Emperor was not in an obliging mood. Piqued and annoyed he bitterly complained that in such a situation who would come to serve under him and could be entrusted with the official duties.¹ Similarly recalling of the competent officials serving under him to the Court like Malik Husain evoked sharp criticism from him.² But Aurangzeb was not to be deterred by such things and despite the adverse circumstances, immediately on assuming the Viceroyalty, he recommended and sent off his own officials to different sūbas to take the charge of those places. Muḥammad Shāh Qadimi was recommended for appointment as qila'dār of Qandahar (Deccan).³ Fathullah was appointed thānadar of Nandāpur,⁴ Khalilullah entitled Muftakḥir Khān received appointment as castellan of Fathābād Dhārur,⁵ Khaishgi was made faujdār of Sarkār Bijargarh following the transfer of 'Uṣmān Afghān.⁶ Shāh Beg Khān was assigned the qila'dārī of Ahmadnagar⁷ and Hādī Dād Khān was promoted as Subedār of Telingana.⁸ Ellīchpur, the head-

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1. Document No. 11.4
 2. Document No. 2.4
 - 3&4. Document No. 1.3
 5. Document No. 1.12
 6. Document No. 1.5
 7. Document Nos. 1.8, 1.43, 9.2
 8. Document No. 1.29

quarters of Sūba Berar was given in charge of Zīāuddin Husain.¹ Many other officers of proven ability were selected and recommended for appointments and received situations of trust and importance in the Mughal Deccan.

(v) Military Obligations of the Mansabdārs

As there was much slackness and very widespread dishonesty in maintaining the requisite number of cavalymen, the branding regulation (zābiṭa-i dāgh) was introduced to check this mal-practice. Aurangzeb had promised to implement the new branding regulation immediately after the receipt of the Imperial farmān, but he could not have been indifferent to the realities of the situations and adopted a more pragmatic attitude. He was convinced that in the prevailing conditions, the implementation of the new regulations would cause much hardship to the mansabdārs because an officer who failed to maintain the requisite contingent would be obliged to refund the excess amount charged by him. Particularly in view of the unfavourable jāgīr income, none excepting few could follow it. He, therefore, sought to mitigate this hardship by explaining the position to Shāhjahān. He was rather emphatic in explaining the dangers inherent in the enforcement of the Regulation.

1. Document No. 1.18

2. Document No. 1.24

When the Emperor directed him to submit his proposals in this regard Aurangzeb, who always showed consideration to the officers who served in the Deccan with honesty and ability, immediately complied with the orders in view of the distressed conditions of the mansabdārs posted in the Deccan who were agitating against it.

In his proposals to the Emperor, Aurangzeb pointed out that this Regulation would actually lead to a sharp reduction of the troopers' pay from Rs. 20/- to Rs. 17½ or even Rs. 15/- per month whereas the strength of the cavalry was raised to 9000. Shāhjahān had taken this step with a view to reduce the expenditure on administration. But the Viceroy felt that the new rates were too low for a trooper to maintain a suitable horse or himself in proper fighting trim. He further argued that the expected increase in number of the troops would only be in theory. In practical terms it would adversely affect the morale and efficiency of the army posted in the Deccan. The Mughal administration could ill-afford such a situation in this far-flung province, which also happened to be the largest province of the Mughal empire and the two of its neighbouring rulers possessed large treasuries and commanded big forces. The situation becomes much more serious if it is kept in the view that during the previous years most of them were receiving as much as Rs. 32/- per mensem, and they had not got as many of their horses branded as they were expected today. The result

was that large arrears were pending against them in the office records. If the Imperial orders were implemented these sums would have to be realized from the jāgīrs of these defaulters and this would lead to nothing less than an outright disaster.¹ As an example Multafat Khan's case was represented to the Emperor who despite his low-revenue paying jāgīrs in the Deccan and depending largely on the jāgīrs in Hindustan was obliged to maintain as many as 90 additional horses more due to the new Regulation.² As a result of this vigorous pleading of Aurangzeb, Shāhjahān ultimately realized the actual situation prevailing in the Deccan and exempted the mansabdārs posted in the Deccan from the perview of the new Regulation.

II JĀGĪR ADMINISTRATION IN THE MUGHAL DECCAN:

Since the Mughal mansabdars were paid either in cash (in that case they were known as naqdi) or by the assignments of jāgīr in lieu of their pay and as such they were designated as jāgīrdārs. Because of this fact the jāgīrdārī system came to be integrated with the mansabdārī system and any weakness affecting the functioning of the one was bound to adversely effect the functioning of the other. It was because of this that wherever in the letters of Aurangzeb there is a reference

1. Document Nos. 1.35, 1.36, 1.37

2. Document No. 1.41

to mansab it is always coupled with the functioning of the jāgīr.

Tuyūl was originally used for princes' assignments. However at least in the time of Shahjahan the term was indiscriminately employed for all assignments.¹

Aurangzeb had also served earlier as Viceroy of the Deccan from 1636-44 but his first Viceroyalty has not been properly documented except for stray references in Adāb which the Prince essentially cited for the purposes of comparison with his second term in the Deccan.²

It would appear that Aurangzeb has considered opinion about many of the problems which were peculiar to Deccan and which tended to affect the functioning of the government there. He seems to have come to the conclusion that Khān-i Daurān, Rāja Jai Singh, Islām Khān, Shāh Nawāz Khān, Prince Murād Bakhsh and Shāista Khān were mainly responsible for the low income of the jāgīrs and decline in agrarian conditions, etc.³

The Sūba of the Deccan in fact comprised of four sūbas which were roughly divided into Painghat (low land) and Balaghat (up land), the former comprised the entire Khāndesh and

1. Prof. Athar Ali has suggested the establishment of this usage from Aurangzeb's reign. Adāb is, however, replete with the interchangeable use of jāgīr and tuyūl, which I have most often silently converted to jāgīr.

2. Document No. 1.15

3. Document Nos. 1.2, 1.6

one half of Berār, while the latter constituted the other 2½ provinces. The Viceroy was empowered to appoint governors of four provinces. Accordingly Telingana was given under the charge of Hādī Dād Khān,¹ whereas Shāhjahān promised the grant of '10 monthly' naqdī jāgīr to Aurangzeb for raising strong contingent for the administration of Sūba Berar.²

(i) Aurangzeb's Jāgīrs

Aurangzeb together with his sons was assigned 12 crore dāms in jāgīr and 3 crore dāms as inā'm which were largely paid from the treasury of the Deccan. This arrangement continued for two years.³ Aurangzeb still suffered a reduction of 17 lakh rupees as compared to his income when he was posted in Multan and Bhakkar.⁴ Aurangzeb did not receive the full payment as his salary was assigned 2/3rd in jāgīr and 1/3rd in naqdī.⁵ Baglāna was granted as in'ām to him. Ellīchpur was assigned to him in jāgīr which he subsequently exchanged for '10-monthly' jāgīr.⁶ Bir held by Aurangzeb in jāgīr was resumed into khālīsa sharīfa and a corresponding '10-monthly' naqdī

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1. Document No. 1.29
 2. Document Nos. 1.6, 1.8
 3. Document No. 1.23
 4. Document No. 1.6
 5. Document No. 2.2
 6. Document No. 1.9

jāgīr was sanctioned to him.¹ Aurangzeb was allowed to obtain sai'r hāsīl jāgīrs in lieu of his low-revenue yielding jāgīrs, which he politely declined to avoid any possible reaction.² This arrangement was modified in 1654 when the Prince was granted ten crore dāms from the treasury of Mālwa and allowed to obtain 2 crore dāms by exchanging his unproductive jāgīrs with the high revenue yielding jāgīrs of other mansabdārs. Aurangzeb accepted the proposal with certain reservations due to his political sagacity. He acquired jāgīrs worth one crore 27 lakh dāms (Rs. 317,500/-).³ Aurangzeb's fears came to be true and it led to a grave crisis. Multafat Khān's misrepresentation to the court that under the cover of this proposal Aurangzeb had overlapped the limits by getting so-called '16 monthly' jāgīr in Asīr and thereby appropriating for himself 40 lakh dāms instead of 30 lakh dāms. This report seems to have created a very grave crisis for Aurangzeb and as a result he suffered a reduction of 50%.⁴ The jāgīrdārs threatened with dispossession alleged that Aurangzeb had selected only the best villages in each mahāl and left for them jāgīrs which were hardly worth '1½ or 2 monthly'. On the other hand Aurangzeb rightly asserted that he had taken entire mahāl and had not selected the

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1. Document No. 1.16
 2. Document No. 1.23
 3. Document No. 1.6
 4. Document Nos. 1.15, 1.18

best yielding mahāls and this was necessary because a mahāl held in partnership could not be administered properly¹ — a principle which was firmly held by him in regard to other jāgīrdārs as well.²

Aurangzeb also received Sarkār Bijagarh with a reduction of 12 lakh dāms in jama'.³ Since the Viceroy used to receive '12 monthly' jāgīr in the North which was reduced to '6 months' in the Deccan due to which he often found it difficult to make both the ends meet.⁴ For the maintenance of the army he had to mainly fall back on the naqdi he solicited pargana Nandurbār with 60 lakh dāms as previously assigned to Prince Murad Bakhsh with a suitable reduction in jama'. Aurangzeb subsequently rejected it as it yielded only Rs.92,000. Aurangzeb also requested for the adjustment of 1.9 lakh rupees realized from the mandawī of Jahānābād in Burhānpur against a corresponding amount to be sent from the treasury of Mālwa for two years.⁶ Notwithstanding such difficulties in receiving his salary, it was always his endeavour to properly administer the Deccan.

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1. Document No. 1.14
 2. Document No. 6.9
 3. Document No. 1.24
 4. Document No. 1.20
 5. Document No. 1.27
 6. Document No. 8.4

(11) Jagirs of Other Officials

Despite his suggestion of taking away from the jāgīr-dārs lands yielding revenues equal to the deficit and resume it to the khālīsa sharīfa¹ Aurangzeb saw to it that the man-sabdārs not only retained their former jāgīrs in Hindustan but also received extra-Deccan jāgīrs.

Aurangzeb encouraged and appreciated the officers who were able to make improvement in their jāgīr holdings. For example he sanctioned an abatement of 3 lakh dāms to Mir Khalīlullah who increased the income of his jāgīr by 50%.² Similarly his commendation for 'Abdul Wahhāb for administering well Baglāna³ showed his keen interest in improving the jāgīr affairs. It was, therefore, but natural that he found it difficult to put up with inefficient officials summarily dismissed Uzbek Khān⁴ and Darwesh Beg Qāqshal;⁵ competent officials like Diyānat Khān,⁶ Shāh Beg Khān,⁷ Rustam Khān⁸ and others highly valued by him and it was always his endeavour to keep such officers around him. Aurangzeb considered it a bad

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1. Document No. 1.23
 2. Document No. 1.12
 3. Document No. 1.5
 4. Document No. 1.13
 5. Document No. 1.22
 6. Document No. 1.4
 7. Document No. 1.6
 8. Document No. 1.9

policy to combine two offices and seldom recommended such case. The deteriorating conditions of the Deccan required singleminded efforts of the officers of keep them up and could not brook any negligence. It was on this ground that he objected to the appointment of Ṣafī Khān simultaneously as bakhshī and topchī.¹ However he recommended assignment of the Dīwānī of Painghat to Murshid Qulī Khān in addition to Bālāghāt which could be approved only after Multafat Khān's transfer to Ahmadnagar in 1656.² He also recommended his name for the assignment of faujdārī of Māhur.³ Aurangzeb ably pleaded the case of numerous manṣabdārs through his Wakīl at the Imperial Court⁴ and he excellently defended the manṣabdārs. He was bitter when Muḥammad Naṣīr, the dārogha of the Imperial kārkhānas at Burhanpur made un-called-for complaints against the manṣabdārs.⁵ Similarly when his recommendation for Fazlullah s/o Zakariya and his brother whose conditional mansab did not get Imperial sanction notwith-

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1. Document No. 1.11
 2. Document No. 1.43
 3. Document No. 120
 4. Document No. 11.2
 5. Document No. 6.3

standing their meritorious services in the Deccan warfares Aurangzeb argued that increase in the zat rank of the Afghāns was in accordance with the prevalent regulations and in doing so he has not violated any provision of law. He also extended financial assistance to the jāgīrdārs as well as the soldiers.² The officials serving under a commander in a military expedition were recommended for promotion. The commander was also authorised to recruit 500 soldiers as well.³

(iii) Transfer of Jāgīrs

As a rule the jāgīrs were subject to transfer and it was the cardinal principle of Mughal administration that a mansabdār should not be permitted to retain the jāgīr for more than two to three years. The rationale behind the transfer was that the jāgīrdārs should not consider any part of the Empire as their own.⁴ The watan-jāgīrs were an exception to

1. Document No. 11.4
2. Document Nos. 14.3, 15.4, 16
3. Document No. 15.3
4. If we calculate the period of a jāgīrdar in the account of Chināreri deshmukh an average of three years is yielded. Document No. 13.1. Cf. Tarapada Mukherji and Irfan Habib, 'The Mughal Administration and the Temples of Vrindavan During the Reigns of Jahangir and Shahjahan', PIHC, 1988.

this rule and they were not subject to transfer and were hereditary. The Calendar does provide details of numerous transfers which, sometimes, also caused grave difficulties for the jāgīrdars particularly when the transfers were effected in the middle of the year.¹ Since Aurangzeb was fully aware of the consequences of such untimely transfers and sought to minimise its effects. For example he recommended assignment of pargana Patode to Shāh Beg Khān whose mahals were transferred at the time of harvest.² Similar was the case of another jāgīrdār.³ But in both cases care was taken not to expose them to any loss. Aurangzeb was anxious to avoid the transfer of the jāgīrs of those who were posted in Deccan and had their jāgīrs in Hindustan.⁴ At the same time he took personal interest to secure the transfer of old officials posted elsewhere to the Deccan as also those who faced dismissal. For example, Naṣīrī Khān, who had remained engaged in Qandahar expedition was recommended for transfer to the Deccan.⁵ Similarly, Mughal Khan whose jagīr was resumed due to his failure in joining Qandahar campaign was requisitioned to the Deccan.⁶

1. Document No. 1.41

2. Document No. 12.1

3. Document No. 1.24

4. Document No. 6.1

5. Document No. 6.6

6. Document No. 6.3

Aurangzeb assigned Kara Nimone to Tatar Khan and recommended assignment of jāgīr in lieu of his resumed jāgīrs.¹

(iv) Crisis in Jāgīrdārī System

Since Deccan had remained a deficit area particularly during Shāhjahān's later years, the signs of crisis in jāgīr-dārī system became clearly visible.² Shāhjahān reprimanded Aurangzeb for his so-called failure in administering the jāgīrs and was asked to explain his conduct.³ The non-availability of jāgīrs technically termed as be-jāgīrī was the main hurdle in the smooth functioning of the jāgīr administration which was brought to its culmination owing to scarcity of pāibāqī lands.⁴ Any large scale transfer of the mansab-dārs could not be effected due to the crisis in jāgīr as the income had dwindled to less than a quarter - a phenomenon Richards failed to discern even during the closing years of Aurangzeb's reign.⁵ Numerous references to the low income of

1. Document No. 15.3

2. Cf. Satish Chandra, 'Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court (1707-1740)', Delhi, 1979, xlv-li.

3. Document Nos. 1.24, 1.26

4. Document No. 1.23

5. J.F. Richards, Mughal Administration in Golconda, OUP, 1975, pp. 199-204. See also Zakir Husain, 'The Working of the Jagir System in Deccan During the Later Years of Aurangzeb', JOS, Vol. II, No. (forthcoming).

jāgīrs are found in our Calendar which gives us an insight into the real magnitude of the problems encountered by Aurangzeb during his Viceroyalty in the Deccan. He had to go through a virtual ordeal as he was not only misunderstood but his activities were viewed with suspicion and as a result he was very often subjected to unjust treatment throughout the term of office as is evident from the relevant passages from Shāh-jahān's censuring epistles frequently cited by Aurangzeb.

III REVENUE ADMINISTRATION

Within a decade after Aurangzeb's recall from his first Viceroyalty of the Deccan, agriculture, the mainstay of the economy of the region, was in shambles due to mismanagement and the peasantry, the backbone of the agrarian system, was thoroughly oppressed. As a result large numbers of the peasantry took to flight leading to steep fall in the revenue and consequent pressure on the imperial exchequer. This situation alarmed Shāhjahān. Aurangzeb was recalled from Qandahar expedition and was appointed as Viceroy of the Deccan for the second time on 17th July 1652. The Viceroy reached Burhānpur on 3 February 1653. From there he informed the Emperor that after settling the affairs of Pāinghāt he would leave for Daulatābād. Shāhjahān had urged him to ameliorate the conditions of the peasantry, to improve the cultivation and relieve

the royal treasury from the annual drain.¹

(i) Aurangzeb's Observations on the State of Agriculture

When Aurangzeb reached Painghat he found the administration in extremely bad shape. He reported to the Emperor that Baglāna had not been properly administered ever since Saiyid 'Abdul Wahhab's departure² leading to virtual collapse of the administrative machinery there.³ Deccan affairs as a whole were in total disarray⁴ and the peasants were groaning under the oppression of Uzbek Khān⁵ and Darwesh Beg Qāqshāl.⁶

The Mughal administration of the Deccan had deteriorated to such an extent that Aurangzeb had to spend 9 months at Burhanpur for streamlining its affairs notwithstanding Shāh-jahān's frequent instructions to him to proceed to Daulatabad. He did not think it advisable to move to Daulatabad without accomplishing the task in hand at Painghat. Moreover, no

1. Document Nos. 1.2, 1.16. See also Jadunath Sarkar, History of Aurangzib, Vol. I, Delhi, 1973 (reprint), 99-100. 3. Moinul Haq, Prince Awrangzib: A Study, Karachi, 1962, 38-9. Najib Ashraf Nadwi, Muqaddama-i Ruqā't-i 'Ālamgir, 'Azamgarh, 1981 (reprint), 195-6.

2. Document No. 1.5

3. Document No. 1.4

4. Document No. 1.6

5. Document No. 1.13

6. Document No. 1.22

immediate business was awaiting him at Daulatābād. He promised to leave for Bālāghāt after sometime and resolve the issue on the spot.¹

In a statement of revenue and expenditure of the Deccan, he laid bare the difference in official estimates of jama' and hāsil and the actual income and expenditure as set out in the following table. Such an over-estimation in the jama' of the Deccan was well recognised by the Mughal administration despite Aurangzeb's frequent complaints against it.²

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1. Documents Nos. 1.4, 1.6. Sarkar has erroneously inferred that due to Aurangzeb's love affair he prolonged his stay at Burhanpur for which he has cited Ahkām-i 'Alamgiri and Ma'āsiru'l Umara. History of Aurangzeb, Vol. I, 35-7, 94, 113. But Aurangzeb's so-called love affair with Zainābādī at the cost of paralysing the Deccan administration seems to be quite improbable as in truth his stay at Burhānpur was necessitated by compulsion of circumstances.
 2. For reasons of this over-estimation of jama' in Deccan, see Shireen Moosvi, 'The Mughal Empire and the Deccan Factor — Economic Factors and Consequences', PIHC, 1982. Akbar was himself responsible for this inflation in jama'dāmi because he had raised (50%) the value of tanka from 16 to 24 dāms by a single stroke of pen following his expansionist policy in the Deccan, cf. Atlas, 1.

Table - 2

A. Official Estimation

1. <u>Jama'dāmi</u>	=	1,44,90,00,000 <u>dams</u>
	=	(Rs. 3,62,26,000)
2. <u>Hāsil</u> including a deduction of Rs.12,00,000 on account of <u>afat</u>	=	Rs. 1,00,00,000
3. <u>Jāgirs</u> of Aurangzeb and his sons	=	12,00,00,000 <u>dams</u>
	=	(Rs. 30,00,000)
4. <u>Inā'm</u> of Aurangzeb and his sons	=	3,00,00,000 <u>dams</u>
	=	(Rs. 7,50,000)

B. Actual Position1. Income from the Deccan

(i) <u>Peshkash</u> of Golconda	=	Rs. 8,00,000
(ii) <u>Peshkash</u> of Deogarh	=	Rs. 1,00,000
(iii) Income from Bir	=	Rs. 2,40,000

Total = Rs. 11,40,000

2. Expenditure in the Deccan

(i) Expenditure on Artillery	=	Rs. 6,30,000
(ii) On the salaries of Viceroy, Princes and other heads	=	Rs. 25,43,000

Total = Rs. 31,76,000

3. Deficit = Rs. 20,36,000

The above table indicates that the actual realization had declined to 88 lakh rupees only, which did not amount to even one-fourth of the jama' (24.3%). The civil and military expenditure of the Deccan, excluding the salaries of the officials from the jāgīrs stood at Rs.31,76,000, of which Rs. 25,43,000 were spent on the cash allowances of Aurangzeb and his sons whereas the expenses on Artillery and other related expenditure required Rs.6,30,000. The only means of providing this sum was the Khālisa Sharīfa and the tribute from Golconda and Deogarh which were Rs.11,43,000. Therefore the annual deficit of Rs.20,36,000 was made good by drawing on the reserve accumulated over the years in the Deccan treasuries through various resources. As a result, the cash balance fell from 80 lakh rupees to 40,50,000 within two years.

(ii) Aurangzeb's Revenue Reforms

Aurangzeb attributed the failure of revenue administration in the Deccan to the mishandling of the former provincials dīwāns and the connivance of the Viceroy. He, therefore, took keen personal interest as soon as he was appointed the Viceroy of Deccan in 1652. He sent his official Muḥammad Ṭāhīr well in advance to take over the charge at Pāinghāt and instructed the dīwāns of Bālāghāt and Pāinghāt to appoint knowledgeable and trustworthy persons to look after his jāgīrs. Muḥammad Ṭāhīr was selected for the

task due to his knowledge of the Deccan affairs. When Aurangzeb reached Burhānpur he wrote to the Emperor to provide certain facilities to him, e.g. a rather long tenure, qualified personnel for his staff and some money. Although the disorder which had continued and extended about a decade could not be undone in a short time yet he promised to exert his utmost for the extension of cultivation. Aurangzeb now embarked upon a policy of complete re-organization of the revenue administration. His very criterion for the selection of an official to a post of responsibility was the incumbent's ability to improvement (ābādānkārī). When he was at Burhānpur he appointed Murshid Quli Khān as the diwān of Bālāghāt by transferring Diyānat Khān, but allowed Multafat Khān, the diwān of Painghat, to continue in office.

Multafat Khān had a plan for increasing the revenues. He decided to advance taqāvi for raising the embankments of the dams in Khāndesh and Berār. For this purpose he requisitioned 40-50,000 rupees.¹ Shāhjahān's instructions regarding the improvement of cultivation and encouraging the resettlement of villages but somehow Aurangzeb did not sanction this amount and forwarded it to the Emperor. The Emperor censured the Viceroy for not sanctioning such a meagre amount on his own as taqāvi.²

1. Document No. 14.1

2. Sarkar has erroneously attributed this adventure to Murshid Quli Khān, History of Aurangzeb, Vol. I, pp. 106, 113.

The prevalence of different forms and methods of assessment (zawābit-i gūnāgon) was an other cause of the agrarian crisis. With a view to removing this defect, it was sought to introduce a uniform system in the revenue administration. The task of the implementation of the new uniform system was entrusted to Murshid Quli Khān, who abrogated all earlier miscellaneous regulations.¹ He introduced a peculiar form of crop-sharing with a differential scale depending upon the nature of crop and irrigation. The implementation of crop sharing ('amal-i batāi) was considered extremely helpful in improving the revenue affairs of the Deccan.² But quite obviously it was expensive as it involved the protection of the food-grain. It would seem to have been introduced as a temporary measure for evolving a reliable crop-rate (rai).³ Both the dīwāns of the Deccan were invested with the enforcement of crop-sharing in Pāinghāt and Bālāghāt and even Multafat Khan's transfer to Ellichpur was cancelled due to his engagement in enforcing crop-sharing in Bālāghat.⁴

1. Document No. 1.15

2. Document No. 1.18

3. Document No. 1.36. For a detailed description of Murshid Quli Khān's revenue reforms, see Ṣādiq Khān, Shāhjahān Nāma, Br. Mus. Or. 174, ff. 185-186; Khwāfi Khān, Muntakhbat Lubāb, Bib. Ind., p. 735; R.A. Alavi, Murshid Quli Khan in Deccan in Studies in the Deccan History, 1978. 62-72

4. Document Nos. 1.9, 1.16, 1.17, 1.43

Murshid Quli successfully brought the entire Deccan under crop-sharing. He was praised for his excellent revenue administration both by the Emperor and the Viceroy. Aurangzeb frequently recommended for increase in his mansab¹ and assigned him miscellaneous duties.² He not only commended his efforts in properly administering Bīr³ but also appreciated him for doubling the revenues in certain mahāls. As a result of these measures, 25% increase in jama' as compared to Diyānat Khān's time was effected by 1654.⁴ Partnership in crop-sharing parganas was discouraged.⁵ Murshid Quli Khān's appointment as the dīwān of Pāinghāt in 1656 in addition to his charge of Bālāghāt was a tribute to his potentialities in bringing prosperity to the Deccan.⁶

But the desired results could not be achieved in the short period. Murshid Quli Khān's reform could not produce an immediate change. Similarly, Shāhjahān's salary schedules for cavalry could not be expected to overcome the chronic

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1. Document Nos. 1.3, 1.10, 1.17, 1.20, 11.1
 2. Document Nos. 1.5, 1.16, 1.20, 1.38, 1.42, 9.1, 9.2, 12.2, 14.3, 15.1
 3. Document Nos. 1.16, 12.1
 4. Document No. 6.9
 5. Document No. 1.24
 6. Document No. 1.43. See Bhimsen's observation in 1658. Nuskha-i Dilkusha, 25, 26, 38, as quoted in Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, I, 107.

problem of difference between the jama' and hāsil. All the same, Murshid Qulī Khān's revenue reforms had far-reaching consequences¹ and their importance in the history of Mughal administration in the Deccan cannot be minimized.

(iii) Tribute from Golconda

The settlement of 1636 contained a clause regarding the payment of 2 lakh huns as annual tribute, which Qutb Shāh used to pay to the Nizamshahis,² instead of 4 lakhs as Shahjahan excused 2 lakh huns as a favour.³ Qutbul Mulk used to pay 8 lakh rupees as equivalent to 2 lakh huns. This amount was spent on the administration of the Deccan. In return it was stipulated that the Mughal Viceroy of the Deccan would help the latter.⁴

Subsequent to Aurangzeb's appointment as Viceroy, Shahjahan ordered for procuring elephants to the tune of half of the peshkash on the pretext of inadequate supply

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1. See my paper, 'Agrarian Survey of Pargana 'Adilabad, 1696 - A Second Reconnaissance', IESHR, Vol. XXVII, No. 2, 1991 (forthcoming).
 2. See Tuzuk-i Jahāngirī (ed.) Syud Ahmud, Ghazipur, 1862, for the annual tribute paid by Qutb Shah to Nizāmshāhi Kingdom, p.
 3. Document No. 4.4. See also Satish Chandra, 'The Deccan Policy of the Mughal - A Reappraisal, (I), IHR, 1977, 332. Makatibat-i Hazrat Sahib Qirani,
 4. Cf. Document No. 1.16

from Orissa and Bengal.¹ This meant loss of four lakh rupees to the Deccan treasury yet Aurangzeb complied with the order. Shāhjahān seems to have not been fully satisfied with the quality of the elephants supplied from the Deccan and consequently Aurangzeb was directed to return elephants of low-breed to Qutbul Mulk.² This further led to a dispute over their price.³ Since elephants and other gifts were normally adjusted against the annual peshkash from Qutbul Mulk, Shāhjahān reprimanded the Viceroy for offering an elephant as peshkash on his behalf which Aurangzeb had received as personal peshkash to him and counted it among the tribute from Golconda.⁴

Aurangzeb's correspondence with the Golconda ruler concentrated chiefly on the payment of arrears of peshkash and regular annual tribute⁵ — a recurring theme in letters to some other addressees as well.⁶ The appointment of four hājibs in succession (i.e. 'Abdul Latīf, Qabād Beg, Ahmad Beg Najm-i

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1. Document No. 1.8
 2. Document No. 1.38
 3. Document No. 1.19
 4. Document No. 1.32
 5. Document Nos. 4.1 to 4.13
 6. Document Nos. 10.1 to 10.3

Ṣānī and 'Abdu'l Ma'būd) was not only politically motivated as Aurangzeb wanted the hājibs of Golconda and Bijapur subservient and responsible to the Viceroy,¹ but also aimed at realizing the tribute. 'Abdul Latīf, who remained hājib till the conclusion of treaty with Golconda, used to inform Aurangzeb of the true circumstances of the peshkash and other related matters.² When 'Abdul Latīf informed Aurangzeb of the inordinate delay in payment of the arrears of peshkash by Qutbul Mulk, the Viceroy asked Golconda ruler to clear the peshkash as early as possible. He was allowed to remit the amount in question in regular instalments within a year. However, when Qutbul Mulk failed to make the payment, he was asked to attach some of his parganas to the Mughal Deccan so that the requisite amount of arrears could be realized by the Imperial administration.³ This option remained open till Mughal offensive against Golconda and even the basic aim of the invasion was said to have been realization of the arrears of tribute.⁴

The Mughals and the rulers of Golconda seem to have difference of opinions about the exchange rate between the

1. Document No. 1.7

2. For a detailed discussion about the peshkash see Seema Singh's 'The Golkunda Tribute', PIHC, 1986. 14-16

3. Document No. 4.2

4. Document No. 1.39

hun and rupee and this appears to have led to frequent disputes. For example, in 1636 the exchange rate for a Golconda hun was Rs. 4 which rose to Rs. 4½ and finally to Rs. 5 per hun in 1654. Qutbul Mulk was asked to remit the additional arrears of tribute to the tune of 20 lakh rupees accumulated due to the Mughal demand for remitting the difference in exchange rate. This could be paid in elephants if he was unable to pay the same in cash.¹

Qutbul Mulk's unwarranted delay in payment of arrears could not have perhaps created so much bad blood in normal times as they actually did. The financial crisis in the Deccan was deepening as is evident from the correspondence between Shāhjahān and Aurangzeb during this period. Moreover, Emperor's refusal to allow any further drain of resources from other Mughal provinces to the Deccan. These were the circumstances which led to Mughal attack on Golconda. Since the Viceroy had all along sought its annexation to the Mughal dominion he had used all kinds of arguments to persuade the Emperor to sanction its invasion.² Aurangzeb was now crying for the blood of Golconda and was in no mood to be halted in his tracks. He had

1. Document No. 4.4

2. Document No. 1.39. Cf. Satish Chandra, op.cit. 354

therefore, requested the Emperor not to heed appeals by Qutbul Mulk aimed at reapproachment.¹ But the latter succeeded in saving his kingdom from extinction through his manipulations at the Mughal Court on the condition of negotiating a settlement. He renewed the agreement by swearing on the Holy Quran and his nazranas (offerings) were to be adjusted against his annual peshkash.² The main clauses of the agreement relating to the tribute are:

- (i) Payment of 25 lakh huns in cash and kind including elephants.
- (ii) Cessation of the fort of Rāngīr in sūba Berār and other adjoining territories yielding 6 lakh rupees annually.
- (iii) Payment of 6 lakh rupees as dowry of his daughter married to Prince Muhammad Sultan (according to the terms of this treaty).³

Qutbul Mulk's mother had solicited a concession of 5 lakh huns in tribute. Aurangzeb, however, remitted one lakh huns each on her and that of his son's wife.⁴ But Qutbul

1. Document No. 1.40

2. Document No. 4.7

3. Document Nos. 10.1 - 10.3. Cf. Ṣāliḥ. III, 225-6

4. Document No. 4.8

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Mulk was still pleading for concession because he had initially offered 40 lakh rupees only to Prince Muḥammad Sulṭān,¹ whereas he had to pay at least one crore rupees. Apparently the annexation of Rāmgīr was an added bonus as its income was estimated to be 6 lakh rupees. But Aurangzeb did not think that it yielded more than 80,000 huns (Rs.4,00,000). Qutbul Mulk claimed that Aurangzeb's officials had, however, accepted it for 1,20,000 huns (Rs.6,00,000). Aurangzeb therefore had to ask Mir Jumla to apprise the Emperor of the real position of income from Rāmgīr.² In another context Aurangzeb, reported that its income did not exceed one lakh huns (Rs.5,00,000).³ But due to the war of succession these matters came to a standstill and the full amount of peṣhkaṣh could not be realized.

(iv) Tribute From Zamīndārs

The Viceroy received the largest amount of tribute from Golconda which was in fact a subordinate ally whereas the Mughals attacked Bijapur and imposed war indemnity on it.⁴ The Zamīndār of Chānda also paid tribute but a large amount of

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1. Document No. 8.6
 2. Document No. 9.3
 3. Document No. 4.9
 4. Document No. 5

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peshkash was outstanding against him.¹ The Mughals did not have any alternative but to attack Deogarh to realize the arrears of peshkash which he could not remit due to his bankruptcy.² Previously the Chief of Deogarh paid Rs.1,00,000 per annum.³ The Mughal Viceroy also used to receive peshkash from the deshmukh of Chināreri.⁴ Aurangzeb also secured appointment of Rāo Karan to the territory of Jawār as his watan-jāgīr on the condition of payment of Rs.50,000 and conquering that principality by his own contingent.⁵ But the deficit faced by the Viceroy of the Deccan was so large that it could not be offset by the uncertain income received from this source.

IV ZAMĪNDĀRS AND THE MUGHAL ADMINISTRATION

Aurangzeb as Viceroy of the Deccan made strenuous efforts to win over the support of the zamīndārs to the Mughal cause and succeeded in making some of them active allies of the Mughal administration in the Deccan.

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1. Document Nos. 1.6, 1.26, 8.1
 2. Document Nos. 1.31-1.33
 3. Document Nos. 1.23, 1.26
 4. Document No. 13.1
 5. Document Nos. 1.29, 1.30

(1) Zamīndār of Deogarh

The Chief of Deogarh was loyal to the Mughals; he used to pay an annual peshkash of one lakh rupees. But due to his own pecuniary problems the zamīndār of Deogarh (also known as zamīndār of Jatba) became unable to clear the arrears of tribute. In view of his loyalty, Aurangzeb recommended remission of the amount of peshkash outstanding against him so that he could remit the annual peshkash regularly. But the zamīndār of Chanda had, on purpose, sent to Shāhjahān entirely incorrect information about the matter and as a result the Emperor flatly turned down Aurangzeb's pleas soliciting his exemption of the zamīndār from the payment of arrears of tribute owing to his impoverishment. The Emperor further argued that the same zamīndār was forced by Khān-i Daurān to present 170 elephants and cash and that he still possessed 200 elephants and therefore there was no tangible reason to excuse him from payment. Aurangzeb tried his best to defend the zamīndār as he was fully aware of his wretched conditions, but to no avail.¹

Despite all the exhibitions of Jatba's loyalty, Shāhjahān sanctioned military action against the Zamīndār of Deogarh who was unnecessarily compelled to offer to submission.²

1. Document No. 1.28. See also Ṣālih, III, pp. 164-5.

2. Document No. 1.31

He promised to deposit one lakh rupees in cash and kind as arrears within a year as well as attach certain parganas to the Imperial dominions the revenue of which would be adjusted against payment of arrears of tribute. He rendered meritorious services in the Mughal operation against Golconda for securing some remission in his enormous arrears of tribute.¹

(ii) Zamīndār of Jawār

Since the Imperial peshkash was not imposed upon the Zamīndār of Jawār he began to defy the Imperial authority. Rao Karan was, therefore, assigned the task of annexing the principality of Jawār to the Imperial dominions. Sripat, the Chief of Jawar, offered submission in January 1656 and later secured the independence of his territory by paying an indemnity and promising to transfer some portion of his territory towards the payment of tribute.²

(iii) Zamīndār of Chānda

The Zamīndār of Chānda enjoyed a tributary status and paid an annual peshkash. Shaista Khān informed his successor, Prince Aurangzeb to realize Rs.30,000³ of peshkash outstanding

1. Document Nos. 1.33, 1.34

2. Document Nos. 1.29, 1.30. See also Ṣālih, 'Amal-i Ṣālih', Vol. III, 165.

3. Document No. 8.1

against the Chief of Chanda till 1652, which however increased to 50,000 in 1653.¹ The zamīndār was instrumental in persuading the Mughals to attack Deogarh.

(iv) Zamīndār of Dhandhera

The chief of Dhandhera had remained interned for the last 20 years of Shāhjahān's reign. Aurangzeb recommended his case to the Emperor who made his release contingent upon his embracing Islam, payment of peshkash and surrender of his watan-jāgīr.² Since Narsing Das, qilādār of Asīr, stood surety, Aurangzeb found it almost impossible because the zamīndār was relying upon the financial support of the Brahmins and the mahājans.³ Aurangzeb's recommendations of his case to Sa'dullah Khān did not bear fruit. He was released by Aurangzeb following the outbreak of the war of succession.

(v) Deshmukh Of Chināreri and Other Zamīndārs

The Chināreri deshmukh loyally served the Mughals in the Deccan and paid annual tribute. But due to some unavoidable circumstances he failed to remit the peshkash. As

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1. Document No. 1.6
 2. Document No. 1.45
 3. Document No. 6.10

Aurangzeb was familiar with the real situation, he explained the position of the deshmukh.¹ The minute details about the annual tribute and other additional impositions upon Chinakeri showed Aurangzeb's knowledge of the affairs of the zamīndārs in the Deccan.

Pratap grassiya indulged in bandatory and organised a night attack on Dadal Saidana in Sarkār Asīr which was immediately foiled and his relatives and accomplices were arrested. Over-awed by the Mughal might, he apologised and his life was spared.²

The zamīndārs in the vicinity of Burhānpur indulged in highway robbery which were, however, repulsed across Narbada. Similarly the Zamīndārs of Karnatak created problems for Mīr Jumla. An attitude of strict benevolent neutrality was maintained towards the Zamīndār (Chief) of Karnatak whose territories were usurped by Bijapur and Golconda rulers.

(vi) The Peasantry

Exploitation of the peasants at the hands of the jāgīrdārs and the zamīndārs was rife and the Mughal administration in the Deccan tried to suppress such tendencies. For example,

1. Document No. 13.1

2. Document No. 6.5

Aurangzeb issued clear instructions to Shaista Khan that the taqāvi pending payment by the peasants should be realized by the deshmukhs and patels and be distributed among the small peasantry (reza riā'yā). For ensuring repayments bonds were to be executed. In this way the amount outstanding against these peasants who had died or run away would be realized from the executants. But the peasants who were alive and in actual possession of land but unable to pay it at once would be asked to pay it in instalments. However, those who were indigent and unable to pay were exempted from its payment after a thorough enquiry into their circumstances.¹

The zamīndārs were not allowed to transfer their burden to the shoulders of the peasantry because such oppression had resulted in the past in the flight of the peasantry from the villages and the ruination of agriculture. Aurangzeb left behind Muḥammad Ṭāhīr at Burhānpur only because the peasantry was happy with his considerate behaviour.² He even took stern measures against such jāgīrdārs who had oppressed the peasantry like Uzbek Khān³ and Darwesh Beg Qāqshāl.⁴

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1. Document No. 8.1
 2. Document No. 1.18
 3. Document No. 1.13
 4. Document No. 1.22

Nasīrī Khān was specially directed to ensure that the peasants and inhabitants were saved from the attacks of the enemy and remain engaged in cultivation. The Mughal officials were asked to protect the peasantry from Shivaji's attacks and the Bijapuri havaladars.

When the peasantry of Shāhganj complained against the unjust realization of tax by the jāgirdars on the pretext of building a fort, Aurangzeb ordered that the additional amount should be returned to the peasants and in case the money was needed for building the fort the requisite amount could be drawn from the treasury.¹

V MISCELLANEOUS

(i) Fort Administration and Construction of New Forts

Aurangzeb as Viceroy did not only strive for appointment of competent commandants of the forts particularly those situated on the border but showed keen interest in constructing new ones as well.² Shāhjahān wanted to assign ten forts to Aurangzeb like the fort of Aḥmadnagar, which he politely declined due to enormous expenses involved in their maintenance.³ The grant of Asīrgarh fort also created bad blood

1. Document No. 16.
2. Ibid.
3. Document No. 8.5

between the Emperor and the Viceroy as he was deprived of this favour with a sense of humiliation.¹ Aurangzeb recommended the appointment of Khalilullah Khān, an excellent topchī, to the frontier fort of Fathābād² as well as the continuance of Uzbek, notwithstanding his resignation till the appointment of the new castellan to the frontier fort for which Barkhurdār Khān's name was recommended.³ Aurangzeb's recommendations for the grant of Aḥmadnagar/^{to Shāh Beg Khān} and the transfer of Mirzā/^{Khān} from there which was acceded to⁴ should be seen in the light of Aurangzeb's policy of safeguarding the frontiers against any possible invasion of the enemy as well as his fondness for efficiency and integrity. Aurangzeb also sanctioned the demolition of an unauthorised fort constructed by Mulla Aḥmad, former Governor of Konkan, and deputed officials for the accomplishment of the task.⁵

(ii) Imperial Kārkhānas

Shahjahan and Jahan Ara were keenly interested in the smooth functioning of the Imperial Karkhanas producing cloth for royal consumption. Emulating this example, Aurangzeb also

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1. Document No. 2.4
 2. Document No. 1.12
 3. Document No. 1.13.
 4. Document No. 1.9
 5. Document No.12.2. Aurangzeb also got repaired the fort of Burhanpur.

established his own Karkhana but it could not gain Shahjahan's favour.¹ The treacherous behaviour of Nasira, the Superintendent of the Imperial Workshops at Burhanpur much annoyed the Viceroy,² on the pretext of non-availability of yarn from qasba Dharangaon, in his jāgīr.

In the light of the above discussion, it is abundantly clear that the letters of Aurangzeb contained in the Ādāb-i Ālamgiri, specially those relating to the period between 1652-58, are extremely valuable for the study of Mughal history in the Deccan. These are particularly helpful in understanding the functioning and complexities of the Mughal administration in the Deccan and bring into light many aspects of the administration hitherto not fully known. Similarly, the fact that there were severe strains in the relationship of Shahjahan and Aurangzeb is common knowledge but these letters make it possible to identify the sources of tension between the two which ultimately pitted them against each other leading to the better end in the war of succession. Moreover, these letters are extremely valuable for proper understanding of the evolution of the Deccan policy of the Mughals during the

1. Document No. 10

2. Document No. 63. Aurangzeb also obtained chintz from Machhlipattan.

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reigns of Shahjahan¹ and Aurangzeb. These letters provide a wealth of information about these and many other aspects of politics, diplomacy and administration relating to Mughal Deccan as well as character and personality of Aurangzeb.

1. Cf. A.A. Beg, 'Aurangzeb's Second Viceroyalty of the Deccan & C', Isl.Cul., XLVIII, No. 1, 39-47.

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1. AURANGZEB'S REPRESENTATIONS TO THE EMPEROR

1.1 Reduction in Aurangzeb's Jāgīrs in the Deccan (August-September 1652, p. 96):

Submits that owing to the difference in the current income and the dual-i jāgīr of the Deccan — the real position of which is known to His Majesty and, God willing it would be also submitted personally to the Wazīr (Sa'dullah Khān)¹ after he presents himself (at the Court). Is perplexed about the cause of reduction by 17 lakh rupees (in his income) and the transfer of the high revenue paying jāgīrs of Multān² and Bhakkar.³ If His Majesty wishes that he (Aurangzeb) should be put in charge of such an important province (i.e. Deccan) then he should have the wherewithal to fulfil the duties of his charge of the large and disturbed provinces in a proper manner and not to be embarrassed before the nobles and rulers (amīrān o duniyādārān) of the Deccan.

1. Sa'dullah Khān, (Indian M. 7000/7000 (5000 x 2-3 h) remained Diwān-i Kul or Wazīr from 1646 to 1656 till his death. Wāris, 93(b) as cited in Apparatus S., 6564; English Factories (EF), X, 66.

2. Sarkār Multān in sūba Multān, Atlas, 5A.

3. Sarkār Bhakkar in sūba Multān, Atlas, 5A.

1.2 Aurangzeb's Endeavours in Streamlining the Administration of the Deccan (August-September 1652, p. 100):

Imperial orders were issued that it would reflect a great credit upon him if Aurangzeb could bring about prosperity in the Deccan. Submits that although he (Aurangzeb) does not compare in his competence and efficiency with all the faithful servants of the Emperor yet from the time of the assignment of jāgīr, he has never shown any negligence in the affairs of administration. Thus this very sūba of the Deccan that was extremely ruined and desolate was brought to prosperity by him (during his first Viceroyalty)¹ as the whole world knows. Perhaps after his transfer, the real state of affairs was reported to His Majesty. Hopes that if he remained in charge of the affairs (of the sūba) for some time and the administration is properly carried out, then despite the fact that the peasants have fled due to the oppression and negligence of the Governors² (Ṣūbadārān), and the entire territory has been mal-administered and ruined, the results of his (Aurangzeb's) endeavours will be manifest, God willing, in a short period of time.

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1. Aurangzeb's first viceroyalty of the Deccan began from 1636 A.D. and continued till 1644 A.D.
 2. There remained the following six governors following Aurangzeb's dismissal from the first Viceroyalty of the Deccan: Khān-i Daurān (May 1644-June, 1645), Jai Singh (officiated till 17 July, 1645), Islām Khān (July 1645-November 1647), Shāh Nawāz Khān (officiated till July 1648), Murād Bakhsh (July 1648-September, 1649, Shāista Khān (September, 1649-September, 1652).

1.3 Affairs of the Zamīndār of Chānda and Recommendations for Some Officials (January-February 1653, pp. 116-7):

The Imperial orders were promulgated that whenever the Zamīndār of Chānda¹ visits Aurangzeb on his way to present himself before His Majesty he should not be detained for more than one day and be despatched immediately to the Imperial Court. Submits that as soon as the Zamīndār arrives he (Aurangzeb) would send him to the Imperial Court without any delay and that he would also act according to the Imperial orders in regard to his peshkash.

Since now it has been learnt from the 'arzdāsht of Murshid Quli² and the daily reports (roznāmcha-i waqāi') that Amān Beg³ qila'dār of Qandahar⁴ sūba Telingāna⁵ is

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1. The principality of Chānda was situated in sarkār Kalam which constituted 31 mahāls of which 8 were under the Zamīndār of Chānda, 'cf. Atlas, 36, 59.
 2. Murshid Quli (1000/500) was made the Dīwān of Bālāghāt in 1653. He was given title of Khān and an increase of 500 zāt in the same year. Wāris 168(a) as cited in Apparatus 3., 5747.
 3. Mirzā Amān Beg, Alaf Khān (1500/1500) qila'dār of Qandahar (Deccan) died in 1653. Wāris 148(b), 268 (b) as quoted in Apparatus 3., 5645; see also Zakhīra, III, 90.
 4. Pargana Qandahar (Kandahar), in sarkār Nānder, sūba Bidar, Atlas, 14A, 15A.
 5. Shāhjahān created a separate sūba of Telingana by adding in it a portion of the earstwhile Nizāmshāhi Kingdom and some parts of sarkār Pāthri, Lāhori, I, ii, 62, II, 711. Cf. Gujarat Documents Bibliotheque Nationale (Microfilm No. 470 in the Department of History, AMU, Aligarh), f.67(b).

dead, Muḥammad Shāh Qadīmī holding the rank of 800/800 and who had come to receive Aurangzeb, was despatched to that post, to reach there immediately. An increase of 200/200 of which 100 sawārs du aspa sih aspa is to conditional (mashrūt), is recommended, enhancing his rank to 1000/1000 (2 x 3 h). Fathullah,¹ son of Zakariya who previously held the rank of 600/600 sawār, was assigned conditional rank of 200/200, and is appointed as the thānedār of Nandāpur,² consequent upon the transfer of Muḥammad Shāh. Since he is an efficient official having a contingent, the (previous) increase in his mansab conditional upon office has been retained and some one has been deputed to escort (sazāwali) him from Burhānpur³ to the said thāna.

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1. Fathullah s/o Zakariya (Afghān) (800/800) was appointed Thānedār of Taundapur in 1653, SDSR, 159; see also Zakhira, III, 116-7.
 2. Madnāpur spelt Nandāpur, sarkār Māhūr, sūba Berār, Atlas, 15A, 59.
 3. Burhānpur was the headquarters not only of sūba Khāndesh, but of the entire Deccan, until replaced in the later role by Aurangabad in 1636, (Atlas, 36). However, it remained the headquarters of Pāinghāt as well as an important trade route during the Mughal period. Cf. Gordon, Burhanpur: Entrepot and Hinterland, 1650-1750, IESHR, XXV, No. 4, 425-42; Zakir Husain, 'Agrarian Survey of Pargana 'Adilabad, 1696 — A Second Reconnaissance', IESHR, XXVIII, No. 2 (Forthcoming).

1.4 Revenue Administration (February-March 1653, pp. 118-9):

Refers to the Imperial orders that Aurangzeb should stay at Burhānpur for some time, looking after the administration of Pāyān Ghāt¹ properly. Afterwards he should leave for Daulatābād² to strive for the prosperity of the four sūbas of the Deccan particularly his (Aurangzeb's) jāgīrs. Submits that since the management of the affairs of Pāyān Ghāt has been disrupted it is necessary for him to stay in that city (balda) for some days. After satisfying himself about its proper administration (band-o bast) he would leave for Daulatābād. Assures that by the grace of Almighty and the training and instructions of His Majesty he would strive to his utmost for the prosperity (ma'mūri) and the administration of the affairs of the sūbas of the Deccan the ruin and desolation of which is not hidden (from the Emperor).

Submits that Diyānat Khān,³ owing to the low revenue (az rehguzr-i kam hāsili) of pargana Phūlambari,⁴ which the

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1. Shāhjahān created two new provinces, Pāyānghāt and Bālāghāt (in his 8th regnal year) which between them comprised the whole of the Mughal Deccan, Atlas, 36.
 2. Daulatābād was the headquarters of Bālāghāt. See Atlas, 55.
 3. Diyānat Khān had remained the Diwān of Bālāghāt till the appointment of Murshid Quli Khān in 1653. Cf. Lāhori, II, 728.
 4. Pargana Phūlambari, sarkār Daulatābād, sūba Aurangābād, Atlas, 14A.

great diwāns (diwāniyān-i 'uzzām) have assigned him in jāgīr, wanted to visit the Imperial Court and met Aurangzeb (on his way) near Narbada river. Since he has served in the Deccan for a long period he is aware of some of the peculiarities of this region (wilāyat). Aurangzeb has kept him with him, and desires to assign him in lieu of the said pargana, which is extremely desolated and low revenue paying a jāgīr elsewhere, so that he does not stay idle.

1.5 Conditions of Baglāna (March-April 1653, pp. 120-22):

Submits that previously it had been heard that the administration of Baglāna¹ had been established properly but when the writer reached the place he found just reverse of what was heard. The transferred intelligence reporter of Sūrat port² who has proceeded to the Imperial Court, would, perhaps, after having audience with the Emperor through the dignitaries, convey the fact to His Majesty. Since the management of Baglāna could not be done smoothly

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1. The principality of Baglāna was annexed to the Mughal empire in 1638 (Lāhori, II, 105-7) and treated as a separate charge (wilāyat) for some time. It has been mentioned as a separate unit in Dastūru'l 'Amal-i 'Ālamgiri, whose statistics pertain to c.1656. But it was later joined to sūba Khāndesh as one of its sar-kārs. Cf. Atlas, 23.
 2. Sūrat Port was a celebrated port in Gujarat. See Atlas, 7A.

after Saiyid 'Abdul Wahhab,¹ he would send the entire amount which has to be spent in addition to the income from that territory which due to poor cultivation (zabūnī-i 'amal) was less revenue paying than in the past. The administration of the provinces of the Deccan has lost its vigour (az nasq uftāda) and the desolation which is known to His Majesty requires competent staff. Accordingly Asadullah,² son of Mir Fazlullah who is an efficient Khānazād and properly managed the affairs of Sultānpur³ and Nandurbār⁴ with 500/100 has been appointed as faujdār of Baglana and a conditional increase of 500/800 du aspa sih aspa was recommended for him making his original and additional rank to be 1000/900 du aspa sih aspa and the restoration of two of the maḥāls from his old maḥāl. He has been sanctioned the arrears of pay against both original and

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1. Saiyid 'Abdul Wahhāb s/o Saiyid Abdur Rahman (Ind. M.) (1500/1500) (800 x 2 - 3h) was appointed qilādār of Baglana in 1644, SDSR 141, Lāhori II, 379. He died in 1646-7, Lāhori II, 729.
 2. Mir Asadullah s/o Mir Fazlullah (Turānī) (1000/1000) (2x3h) was appointed faujdār of Baglana in 1653.
 3. Sultānpur and Nandurbār (Nazarbar in the Persian sources) are two parganas of sarkār Nandurbār which was transferred from sūba Mālwa to sūba Khāndesh by Shāhjahān in 1634, Lāhori, I, ii, 62.

additional ranks from Baglana. Recalled Kamāl Lodī¹ and other officials to him and granted him additional income from some forts in accordance with His Majesty's orders.

'Uṣmān Afghān² holding the rank of 1000/800 (previously) was the faujdār of sarkār Bījāgarh³ and consequent upon the transfer of Shāista Khān⁴ that sarkār has been assigned to him (Aurangzeb). Since a faujdār is to be appointed to Sultanpur and Nandurbar, reserved for the Khālisa (whose revenues were reserved for the Emperor) Muḥammad Beg Khaishgi,⁵ (his official) was appointed the faujdār of Bījāgarh with cavalry and infantry. Usman was made faujdār of Sultānpur and Nandurbār with 200 conditional sawārs to his rank, so that he now held 1000/1000.

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1. Kamāl Lodī Hizbar Khān Afghān (2000/500) 'Ālamgīrnāma 55, 63, 76-77.
 2. 'Uṣmān Afghān (1000/800) ceased to be the faujdār of sarkār Bījāgarh in 1653.
 3. Sarkār Bījāgarh was transferred to sūba Khāndesh in 1634 Lāhori, I, ii, 62-3.
 4. Abu Tālib Shāista Khān (Irāni) (5000/5000, 2-3 h) was transferred to sūba Gujarāt as its Governor following the appointment of Aurangzeb as Viceroy of the Deccan in 1652. Wāris, 142(b) as cited in Apparatus 3., 5586.
 5. Muḥammad Beg Khaishgi was appointed faujdār of sarkār Bījāgarh in 1653 following the transfer of 'Uṣmān Afghān.

Murshid Quli appointed Dīwān of Bālāghāt by His Majesty, held some jāgīrs in the north. After his arrival there he was assigned pargana Sāvda,¹ which had the jama' (estimated income) of 10,85,000 dāms whereas the realisation (hāsil) of the previous year was a little over Rs. 71,000 out of which Rs. 50,000 were remitted because of calamity leaving a balance of only something over Rs. 20,000. In view of this His Majesty sanctioned a reduction (takhfīf) in jama' of the pargana of 57,00,000 dāms (reducing the jama' of the pargana to 51,50,000 dāms), 50,00,000 dāms of Murshid Quli's salary are now met by assignment of this pargana.² But the pargana is still desolate and (even after the above jama'-reduction) is low-hāsil. Proposes that only 30,00,000 dāms (about 3/5ths of the pargana), be assigned to Murshid Quli, as were assigned to Diyānat Khan, the remainder of the pargana to be retained by old jāgīrdārs of the said pargana who were transferred upon its assignment to Murshid Quli. For the balance (20,00,000 dāms) Murshid Quli may be assigned 5 or 6 monthly jāgīrs.

1. Pargana Sāvda, sarkār Asīr, sūba Khāndesh, Atlas, 9A, 14A.

2. There had been a tremendous decline in the actual income of the parganas in Khāndesh as compared to the jama'. Cf. J.F. Richards, 'Official Revenues and Money Flows in a Mughal Province', Imperial Monetary System of Mughal India, OUP, 1987, 193-231.

1.6 Deteriorating Agrarian Conditions of the Deccan (April-May 1653, pp. 131-4):

Refers to the royal orders that he (Aurangzeb) should have been free from the task of settling the affairs of Pāyān Ghāt. He should leave for Daulatābād immediately upon the receipt of this order. He should, however, consider both Bālāghāt¹ and Pāyān Ghāt as placed under him and administer it properly.

Submits that the desolation of the country of the Deccan which has been left unattended in the last ten years is not of such type that its settlement can be accomplished in a shortwhile, and the way the settlement can be made by personally attending to him would not be possible if one is at a distance. There is important business awaiting him in Daulatābād that leaving the management of Pāyān Ghāt unaccomplished he should proceed there immediately.

Submits that in response to his 'arzdāsht recommending an increase in Asadullah son of Fazlullah's rank and further recommending the faujdāri of Baglāna for him, royal orders were issued that "if he wants to induct him into Imperial service by granting the faujdāri of Baglāna the

1. For Bālāghāt, see document no. 1.4, n.1.

recommendation is not proper because Baglāna is held as inā'm by him (Aurangzeb). He could give him whatever he liked for the maintenance of its affairs other than a Imperial mansab (mansab-i dargāhi).¹ Submits that in that petition he had referred to inadequate revenues and considerable expenses (ziyādati-i kharch) of Baglāna, and so proposed its assignment to one of the officials. In view of the fact that the rank of 'Umar Afghān¹ was increased from 600/100 to 1000/1000 du aspa sih aspa (for holding the faujdārī of Baglāna, he had made a recommendation for an increase in the mansab of Asadullah who is a Saiyid and Khānazād and a competent man, and holds the rank of 500/100 du aspa sih aspa. Since most of his jāgīrs were assigned from there the writer did not make any request for assignment in lieu of that inā'm. Seeing this in the interest of economy in government expenditure, he had made the above request. If it is approved, it would be best; otherwise the additional salary would be granted to him from Baglāna, which is an Imperial gift to the writer. The royal orders were issued that since it was known from the representation that

1. 'Umar Tarīn (Afghān) (500/100) (Lāhori, II, 751) was appointed faujdār of Baglāna in 1648, Wārīs, 45(b) as cited in Apparatus S., 4438; see also Zakhira, III, 76.

neither 'Umar Tarīn could administer Baglāna properly nor the contingents sent by Aurangzeb, he ('Umar Tarīn) should be sent to the Court.

As for orders of exemption from payment of arrears of tribute of Rs. 50,000 from the Zamīndār of Chānda from the beginning of Farwardin 26th R.Y. and the collections of the arrears of tribute of the 25th R.Y. as outstanding against him till the end of Isfandarmuz these would certainly be followed.

It had been ordered that "he should send Shāh Beg Khān,¹ who does not maintain proper contingents to the royal Court and if he likes he could hold these parganas of (Shāh Beg Khān) in lieu of his naqdi (jāgīr) or assign them to anyone who is competent and maintains (proper) contingents and appoint him in his (Shāh Beg Khān's) place."

Submits that His Majesty is well aware of the circumstances of the officials posted in the Deccan and the writer did not know of commanding larger contingent than Shāh Beg Khān and administer that province (Berār) properly.

1. Shāh Beg Khān (4000/4000) was appointed the qilédār of Ahmadnagar in 1653. Cf. Apparatus S., 5898.

So out of favour it has been ordered that if he wanted he could have his (Shāh Beg Khān's) tuyūl in lieu of his own naqdi. He would, therefore, shortly depute one of his efficient officials with a strong contingent and send Shāh Beg Khān to the royal threshold.

Since a strong contingent is required for the maintenance of Berār he (Aurangzeb) hopes that as soon as the (details of the) income of the parganas of Shāh Beg Khān's jāgīr are presented to His Majesty he would grant in his salary 10-monthly cash (naqd) without any deduction (āfat) from the parganas of Ellīchpur¹ and Ankot² fixing the jama' as much as His Majesty likes.

1.7 Peshkash of the Deccan Rulers, etc. (May 1653, pp. 123-5):

The hājibs of the two Deccan Rulers with their petitions came and saw him and presented gifts from their masters.

'Ādil Khān³ had not previously sent such inferior gifts (turban, ornamented figure-guard and elephant). Anyhow in

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1. Ellīchpur (mod. Achlāpur) the headquarters of (haveli-mahāl) sarkār Gāvil sūba Berār then also served headquarters of sūba Berār. Cf. Atlas, 36.
 2. Pargana Ankot (Akot) sarkār Narnāla, sūba Berar, Atlas, 9A, 14A.
 3. Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh was the ruler of Bijāpur from 1627 to 1657.

compliance with the Imperial orders whatever was presented has been accepted. Qutbul Mulk¹ sent a fine ring with a fine diamond, ornamented weapons and six elephants of which four for Aurangzeb and two for his sons (Khānazāds). Some days, God willing they would be seen by His Majesty.

In accordance with Imperial orders, he will, shortly depute Ja'far² to Bījāpur and 'Abdul Latīf³ (previously diwān of Qandahar and now the writer's officer) to Golconda. Some jewelled arms and Gujarat cloth will be sent with them as presents. It would be better if they consider themselves serving under the Governor of the Deccan, otherwise whatever the Emperor decides.

Informes that Mīr Sālih⁴ son of Mīr Qiwāmuḍḍin Māzandrāni, a relative of Shāh 'Abbās who had gone to Aurangabad via Surat port and determined to proceed to Golconda was called to Burhānpur and sent to the Imperial court. Hopes that

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1. 'Abdullah Qutb Shāh was the ruler of Golconda from 1626 to 1672.
 2. Ja'far was appointed as hājib at the Court of Bījāpur in 1653.
 3. 'Abdul Latīf was appointed as hājib at the Court of Golconda in 1653.
 4. Mīr Sālih's rank not identified. However Aurangzeb not only enticed the officials of the Deccan rulers but also checked the foreign adventurers from joining their Courts by inducing them to join the Imperial service. See Riazul Islam, Indo-Persian Relations, Study of the Political and Diplomatic Relations Between the Mughal Empire and Iran, 1970, 97-123.

after being permitted to kiss the royal threshold he would be rewarded according to his talents.

Refers to his previous letter regarding the despatch of one of his officials to sūba Berār in compliance with Imperial orders. Accordingly Zīāuddin Ḥusain,¹ his former bakhshī and a competent person was sent to Ellīchpur with a contingent of 400 cavalry and 200 gunners (infantry) and directed Shāh Beg to proceed to the writer after the former's arrival there.

1.8 Peshkash from Qutbul Mulk and Jāgīr-Assignment to Aurangzeb (1653, pp. 144-5):

Emperor has ordered that since fewer male and female elephants than before are being brought from Bengal and Orissa, Qutbul Mulk be asked to send elephants in lieu of half the annual tribute (peshkash) of 8 lakhs of rupees. Submits that, though this would reduce the income of the Deccan treasury by 4 lakhs annually he would still press Qutbul Mulk to fulfil the Imperial demand.

It has appeared from the report of Aurangzeb's wakīl at the Court that the Emperor had remarked that since Aurang-

1. Mir Zīāuddin Ḥusain Himmat Khān, Islām Khān (Turani) (4000/2000) Ma'mūri, 97(b). Sidhāri Lal, Tuhfa-i Shah-jahani, Ms. I.O., 337, f. 30b; 'Āqil Khān, Wāqiāt-i 'Ālamgīrī, 39.

zeb had taken pargana Ellīchpur on his own, without any reduction in jama', why should there be any talk now (of reduction in the jama').

Submits that His Majesty had himself ordered that "if he (Aurangzeb) wanted to have jāgīrs of some of the tuyūl-dārs (jāgīrdārs) in exchange of his cash salary) (talab-i naqdi), a suitable jama' would be fixed thereof. Therefore, Aurangzeb had solicited pargana Ellīchpur out of the parganas held in jāgīr by Shāh Beg Khān and sent the details of current income (haqīqat-i hāl-i hāsīl) to the royal court under the seal of Multafat Khān,¹ the Diwān, so that the reduction could be sanctioned accordingly, so that he might not suffer any loss by exchanging his 10-monthly cash salary for the jāgīr. If the reduction is not granted he would suffer a loss of two lakhs; but he was prepared to sacrifice everything for the Emperor's approbation.

The Aḥmadnagar fort² was situated near the border. Shah Beg Khan who previously held the charge of that fort wanted its qila'dāri. Seeks Imperial orders for his appoint-

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1. Multafat Khān s/o Irādat Khān (Irānī) (2000/2000) was the Diwān of Khāndesh and Pāinghāt, Wāris, 116(b), as cited in Apparatus 3., 5456. See also Zakhīra, III, 93.
 2. Aḥmadnagar fort is situated in sarkār Aḥmadnagar sūba Aurangabad, Atlas, 14A.

ment to the said fort and retain Mirzā Khān,¹ a Khānazād, with him.

1.9 Aurangzeb's Unproductive Jāgīrs and Appointment/Transfer of his Officials (1653, pp. 141-3):

Refers to the royal orders issued to him that from the beginning of rabi' crop of Yūnt Īl he would be sanctioned cash payment (naqdi) in lieu of pargana Ellichpur, the reality of his efforts to improve prosperity of the Deccan has been made known by his relinquishing (on the ground of its becoming ruined). Protests that the said pargana has had a shortfall in relation to its jama' for the last twenty years. How could it become prosperous within a harvest or two.

Refers to the royal orders that 'according to his (Aurangzeb's) representation (iltimās), Mirzā Khān was removed from the charge of Ahmadnagar fort. However, reasons for his transfer should have been **explained and he should be** replaced by Shāh Beg Khān. The presence of an intelligent and improver (ābādānkār) was necessary in Ellichpur, it

1. Mirzā Khān (3000/2000) remained qilādār of Ahmadnagar from 1650-3. Cf. Wāris 16, 116(b), as cited in Apparatus 3., 5455.

should be assigned either to Jalāl Kākar¹ or to Multafat Khān. If he wishes he may recommend the name of either for increase (in mansab).

Submits that he believed the circumstances of Mirzā Khān's case were already known at the Court and so refrained from putting it in writing as he was a Khānazād and considered it best that he should remain with him (Aurangzeb).

Shāh Beg Khān has been posted to Aḥmadnagar fort and royal orders regarding the assignment of the tuyūl of Shāh Beg Khān and Mirza Khān would be followed. Since Jalāl Kākar is a soldier he has no competence in the sphere of agricultural improvement. Notwithstanding this he was posted as faujdār of Pūnār² on the borders of Deogarh³ two three months previously, His Majesty would have been informed by the wāqia (news-report) of this province. Multafat Khān was engaged in the work of crop sharing of Pāyān Ghāt. He did not agree with this proposal. Accordingly the assignment of pargana Ellīchpur to either of the two was withheld.

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1. Jalāl Khān Kākar s/o Dilāwar Khān Kākar (Afghān) (2000/1500) was appointed faujdār of Pūnār, Lāhori, II, 727.
 2. Pargana Pūnār (Paunar) was the seat of headquarters of sarkār Pūnār in sūba Berār, Atlas, 36.
 3. Deogarh was a principality which offered submission and paid tribute to the Mughal empire. See Atlas, 35.

Proposes that it be assigned to Rāo Karan¹ who on suffering a deduction of 500/500 (barāwurdī) in his rank had lost pargana Kandākūr,² where he had shown his capacity to improve cultivation. He may be restored the rank of 500/500 and be deputed to serve at Elīchpur, and his barāwurdī be made du aspa sih aspa for service at Elīchpur. That pargana could be assigned to him for the payment of his salary against his present and additional rank, and in lieu of pargana Pūsad³ he holds in sūba Berār. The balance (of jama') from pargana Elīchpur could be sanctioned to others.

Rustam Khān⁴ brother of Īraj Khān⁵ wants to solicit permission to proceed to royal court as he says that he has been called to be with his brother. He begs to receive

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1. Rāo Karan (3000/2000) s/o Rāo Sūr Ehūrtiya (Rajput) suffered a demotion in rank in 1652-3, which was restored to him only in 1655, Wārīs, 224(b), as cited in Apparatus.
 2. Pargana Kandākūr, sarkār Gurramkonda, sūba Hyderabad, Atlas, 16A.
 3. Pargana Pūsad, sarkār Māhur, sūba Berār, Atlas, 14A, 15A.
 4. Rustam Khān s/o Qizilbāsh (Irāni) held the faujdārī of Sangamner in 1650-51, (Zakhīra, III, 71,) wherefrom he was transferred probably in 1653.
 5. Īraj Khān s/o Qizilbāsh Khān (Irāni) served as thānedār of Pāthri in 1650-51, (Wārīs, 108(b), as cited in Apparatus S., 540,) wherefrom he was transferred to North India as faujdar of Jamnun and Kanpur, Wārīs 173(6), as cited in Apparatus S., 5902; see also Zakhīra, III, 69-70.

an appointment for himself in imperial service. Presence of people like him in this province is necessary. It may be ordered that he be permitted to stay here otherwise he would be sent to the Court.

1.10 Recommendation for Rāo Karan, Rajput and Supply of Cloth to the Royal Kārkhānas, (1653, pp. 146-7):

Refers to the royal orders that since the assignment of Ellichpur to a Rājput like Rāo Karan was not proper the said office has been entrusted to Asadullah¹ son of Rashīd Khān.² One should entrust work to a person who can do it. Submits that the charge of Ellichpur does not involve anything except holding the jāgīr and improving cultivation and Aurangzeb had been suspected at the Court of ill-treating the Rājputs, he had made a recommendation of Rāo Karan, looking at his mansab-reduction and his ability to increase cultivation, according to what had been heard about him. Asadullah too, with his present mansab and contingent, cannot look after the duties of Governor of Berār. However, according to royal orders, he was sent

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1. Asadullah s/o Rashīd Khān Anṣārī (1500/1000) was appointed faujḍār of Ellichpur in 1653, Wāris, 184 (b), as cited in Apparatus S., 5990.
 2. Rashīd Khān Anṣārī (Afghān) (4000/4000) Nāẓim of Telingana died in 1648, Wāris, 49(b), 260 (a) as cited in Apparatus S., 4485.

to Ellīchpur and Ilhāmullah¹ to Chāndaur.² Their jagirs would be assigned in accordance with the reverse endorsements (zimn) of the farmān.

Refers to His Majesty's direction that the pieces of cloth manufactured by Aurangzeb at Burhānpur be sent to the Court expeditiously. While expressing gratitude for this attention, explains that the delay in despatch has been due to the lack of artisans (karīgarān) because most of the expert weavers in Burhānpur are working in the Imperial and Begam Sahib's³ kārkhānas and the work of those in Aurangzeb's kārkhānas was not of a quality to win His Majesty's approbation. A few piece-goods, which had been prepared by the time of Naṣīra's⁴ arrival, have been sent to the Court.

Cites His Majesty's observations that Aurangzeb had left his diwān⁵ for watching over Burhānpur and has not appointed

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1. Ilhamullah s/o Rashid Khan Ansari (1000/1000) was appointed thanedar of Thander (rect. Chandur), Waris 184(b) is cited in Apparatus, S., 5991.
 2. Farangī Chandur was claimed for sarkār Kalam but the same maḥal was also considered under sarkar Manikdrug, Atlas, 52, 60.
 3. Begum Sahib was the title of Princess Jahan Ara Begum.
 4. Naṣīra not identified.
 5. He was probably Muḥammad Ṭahir who was left there.

ed anyone else as the diwān till now. Submits that His Majesty would know the detailed reasons for delay in the matter from a nishān sent by Aurangzeb to him at the Court in response to the same query in a hasbul hukm. Reports appointment of Ziauddin Husain¹ (previously Aurangzeb's Bakhshi) as his Dīwān.

- 1.11 Recommendation for the Appointment of Hoshdar as Topchi and Bakhshi (July 1653, pp. 136-7):

Imperial orders (manshūr) have come that since the supervision of the artillery (topkhāna) is an important office/assignment and Hoshdār² is not worthy for that post. If Safī Khān³ was ready to accept that office he could be assigned the same to combine with the office of the Bakhshi. Otherwise Mīr Ahmad Rizvi⁴ would not be a bad (choice) because he knew the assigned duties and could get them executed.

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1. See P.15, n.1. The Mughal Princes were authorised to maintain their diwāns and bakhshis.
 2. Hoshdar s/o Nawab Multafat Khan (Irani) (800/400) was appointed Darogha-i Topkhana of the Deccan. Waris, 169 (a), as cited in Apparatus S., 5755; see also Zakhira, III, 97.
 3. Safi Khan (500/100) remained Bakhshi and Waqia Nawis of the Deccan till 1654-5; Waris, 229(b), as cited in Apparatus S., 6405.
 4. Mīr Ahmad Rizvi s/o Sa'adat Khan Rizvi (Irani) (1000/600) was appointed Faujdar of Naṣirābād in 1652-3, Waris, 157(a), as cited in Apparatus S., 5737.

Submits that His Majesty was aware that he had been in the office of Governorship since the age of eighteen he has never made improper recommendations for imperial duties, otherwise, how these could have been approved?

Since it was presumed that the Superintendent of the Artillery in addition to his ability for supervision and integrity should be aware of the art of (commanding) tufang and essentials of the said office, he (Hoshdār)¹ has the adequate knowledge of the same and is a commander of high repute his name was intentionally recommended by him. He has not, however, committed any acts of dishonesty and infidelity. Since His Majesty does not agree, Şafi Khān, would be communicated the good news and be made aware of the royal favour towards him. Further submits that since combining this office with the office of bakhshī would be a burden as the condition of the jāgīr in the Deccan was not unknown and without resources (maşālih), such high office could not be performed. Hopes that Şafi be honoured by additional rank, and perform the duties of the twin offices whole-heartedly. Submits that Mīr Ahmad Rīzvi as observed by His Majesty was not undeserving.

1. Although Hoshdar's appointment was not to the liking of Shāhjahān, yet Aurangzeb secured his appointment as Darogha-i Top Khāna of the Deccan. Document No. 12.1; Wāris, 169(a) as cited in Apparatus, 3., 5755.

1.12 Recommendations for the Appointment of Mīr Khalīlullah (July 1653, pp. 152-3):

Since Fathābād (Dhārūr)¹ is a frontier fort, the presence of one of the trusted officials there was necessary. Accordingly Mīr Khalīlullah,² an efficient Khānazād, who had undertaken well the charge of the artillery (topkhāna) had been posted there to urgently assume the duties of castellan. An increase of 500/200 barāwurdī (ordinary) and 600 sawārs du aspa sih aspa was recommended to his original rank of 1500/800 thereby raising it to 2000/1000 conditional upon performing the duties of qila'dārī of Fathābād. Pargana Daryāpur³ is assigned for 70 lakh in his jāgīr; he has improved cultivation within two years by 50 per cent compared to the year he obtained it. The havelī of Fathābād which had 88 lakh dāms as jama', was assigned to him following the death of 'Arab Khān⁴ for 85 lakhs with a reduction of 3 lakh dāms. Recommends conferment of a title on him.

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1. Dhārūr, situated in sūba Aurangābād, was renamed Fathābād under Shāhjahān Lāhori, I, ii, 278 .
 2. Mirzā Khalīlullah s/o 'Azam Khān (Irānī) (1500/800) was appointed Qila'dār of Fathābād (Dhārūr) in 1653 with the title of Muftakhar Khān, Wārīs 169(a), as cited in Apparatus 3., 5754; see also Zakhīra, III, 93-5.
 3. Pargana Daryāpur, sarkār Gāvīl sūba Berār, Atlas, 9A, 14A.
 4. Nūr Muḥammad 'Arab Khān ('Arab) (2000/2000) (500x2-3) died in 1653 as Qila'dār of Fathābād, Wārīs 169(a), as cited in Apparatus 3., 5753; see also Zakhīra, III, 90.

Hoshdār, son of Multafat Khān, a deserving Khānazād and musketeer (bandūqchi), has been appointed Superintendent of Artillery. Since he has had no increase, an addition of 200/100, conditional upon this office, is recommended to raise his mansab to 900/400.

- 1.13 Aurangzeb's Representation Regarding the Exchange/Assignment of Jāgīrs to his Subordinates (1653, pp. 125-6):

issued

Refers to the Imperial orders after the writer's daul-i jāgīr had been submitted. It had been decreed, If after his arrival in the Deccan he found that better revenue paying (sair-hāsiltar) jāgīrs are held by other tuyūldārs (jāgīrdārs) there he could, if he so desired, exchange them with those assigned to him; he is fully authorised. However, the writer did not make use of this privilege in order to keep up the morale of the officers, and left all their jāgīrs in their possession. He himself held what jāgīrs had been assigned to him from the Imperial Court. But since there were men not suitable for jāgīrs, he has now obtained in exchange jāgīrs with a little over 1,27,00,000 dāms in entire mahāls, which are desolated (zabūn) and low in revenue-yield, from various dates. He had sent the papers (afrād) to the Court, so that Imperial officials placing them before His Majesty may send the tankhwāh (jāgīr-salary) assignments. But when the sanad

arrived, it had been learnt that the exchange of mahāls has not been approved. Instead some from those low revenue-paying parganas have been retained with the writer, while in some mahāls previously held by the writer reductions (in jama') have been granted.

If the disapproval was due to the miscalculation about an increase in realization it is submitted that the revenues of his entire jāgīr in this province including the mahāls received in exchange does not exceed eight months on average. The exchanged jāgīrs of 1,27,00,000 dāms are slightly over 9-monthly and or a little over. The details are being submitted by the writer's wakīl at the Imperial Court. If being higher than 9-monthly and a little over, let these be resumed to the Khālīṣa from the beginning of Kharif Yūnt Īl and in lieu of that cash salary equal to 8-months be granted to him so that such triffling issues may not become subject of representation again.

States that previously the unsound physical condition of Uzbek Khān¹ was reported to His Majesty and it was ordered that he (Aurangzeb) would summon him and verify his

1. Uzbek Khān Tūrāni (2000/2000) was dismissed from the Qilādari of Ausa, Wārīs 193(b), as cited in Apparatus 3., 6035.

condition. Accordingly he was called and the wāqia'-nawīs (news-reporter) was ordered to record in the wāqia' whatever was observed. Since there were no other orders regarding him and it was not proper to keep the frontier fort vacant he was sent back to the fort till the receipt of the Imperial orders. Meanwhile, it was known from the report of the news-writer, that he has committed some uncalled-for-acts (not worthy of a castellan). Accordingly Šafi was asked to write a letter containing strict admonitions and injunctions so that he should be more careful in future. He tendered his resignation from the post and the jāgīr as would be known in detail to His Majesty from the wāqia'. Moreover many of the peasants living in his jāgīr have sought relief from his oppression.

If approved Khwāja Barkhurdār¹ a trusted and competent official/servant holding the rank of 1000/500 be granted conditional increase on account of the qilādārī and the mahāl of Uzbek Khan be assigned in his jāgīr so that he may take custody of the said fort.

1. Khwāja Barkhurdār Turāni (2000/2000) was appointed Qilādār of Ausa in 1653, Wāriṣ 193(b), as cited in Apparatus 3., 6034.

- 1.14 Aurangzeb Solicits High-Revenue Paying Jāgīrs (1653, pp. 183-5):

Refers to the Imperial orders issued in response to the writer's 'arzdāsht regarding the abatement granted in the mahāls of the writer and authorising him to exchange his low-revenue paying mahāls with the high-revenue yielding parganas of jāgīrdārs of the Deccan. It appeared from the farmān that His Majesty believes that the writer has not changed the entire mahāls, but only selected villages in each pargana, leaving the ruined (zabūn) villages to the jāgīrdārs. Submits that the writer has always followed the Imperial orders without any deviation. Since he has been administering subas he is aware of the fact that sharing of a mahāl (among jāgīrdārs) leads to its ruin. Whatever he abandoned in sarkar Bijagarh, etc., on account of low-income was in the form of the entire mahāls. The sai'r of pargana Junair,¹ is not a separate mahāl or village but part of the entire pargana of Junair and is part of the jama' of that pargana.² When that par-

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1. Pargana Junnar, the headquarters of sarkar of the same name, suba Aurangabad, which Persian sources usually write 'Junair', Lāhori, I, ii, 160-1, 225, etc;
 2. Shāhjahān used to censure Aurangzeb at the instigation of the mischief-mongers. His letter to Shuja' clearly indicates that since Aurangzeb did not administer the Deccan to the Emperor's approbation Shuja' was offered the charge of the four subas of the Deccan, Muqaddamah, 230.

gana in the jāgīr of Sazāwār Khān,¹ Khān-i Daurān² out of hostility to him, separated the sāīr from some par-ganas, and jama' being fixed separately on it, it was designated a chaukī. Promises to exchange only entire mahāls in future in compliance with the Imperial orders. Appreciates the appointment of Khwāja Barkhurdār as in charge of Ausa³ fort with conditional increase upon his proposal. Accordingly he would be posted to the fort and the daul of his jāgīr would be sent to the Court. Uzbek Khān will be asked to proceed to the Court. Mirzā Khān notwithstanding Imperial orders had not entrusted Ahmadnagar fort to Shāh Beg Khān and it was thought that Uzbek Khān would do the same. So Aurangzeb did not send a nishān to Uzbek Khān, but told Ṣafī Khān to tell him of the Imperial orders and ask him to deliver the fort (of Ausa) to Barkhurdār upon receipt of the nishān and extract from the farmān; otherwise a farmān addressed to him will be obtained. This would prevent Barkhurdār loitering outside the fort like Shāh Beg Khān.

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1. Sazāwār Khān s/o Lashkar Khān Mashhadi (Irāni) (3000/2000 (500x2-3h)) who previously held the qilādārī of Junnar was also transferred from the qilādārī of Ausa. Hyd. 3677, as cited in Apparatus S., 5630; Zakhīra, III, 97-8.
 2. Khwāja Ṣābir 'Alī Nasīrī Khān, Khān-i Daurān Bahādur Nusrat Jang (Turāni) (7000/7000 (5000/2-3h)) had remained subedār of the Deccan from 1644-5, Lāhori, II, 376, 426; see Zakhīra, III, 18-25.
 3. Ausa in sarkār Nander, sūba Bidar, Atlas, 14A.

1.15 Condition of Aurangzeb's Jāgīrs and Multafat Khān's Request for Loan (1653, pp. 206-7):

The Emperor had observed after seeing the āwārjā of par-gana Asīr,¹ sent by Multafat Khān that jāgīr worth 40 lakh dāms assigned to Aurangzeb (in that par-gana) was 16-monthly, the selection of high-income (sair hāsīl) villages in a par-gana and assignment of low-revenue yielding villages, that were 1½ or 2-monthly only, was contrary to Islam and justice. Therefore now a further 20 lakh dāms have been assigned to the low-revenue yielding (kam-hāsīl) villages of the par-gana in lieu of cash salary (so far paid) so that the 60 lakh dāms worth of jama' now assigned to Aurangzeb in that par-gana could be equivalent to 12-monthly.

Submits that during the period he has held the Governorship (of the Deccan) he has never committed such injustice as would be far away from Islam and from His Majesty's approbation. Out of the 40 lakh dāms which have caused such a severe censure form part of (the remaining) 33 lakh dāms are accounted for by Bahādurpura² which comp-

1. Par-gana Asīr in sarkār Asīr of sūba Khāndesh, Atlas, 9A, 14A.

2. Bahādurpura in par-gana and sarkār Asīr of sūba Khāndesh.

rises market and transit (sāi'r). The balance is assigned to the territories adjoining the city where revenue does not reach 6-monthly. These territories were not selected by Aurangzeb but were assigned to him by the diwāns of the Empire before his arrival, and as consequence of transfer of Shāista Khān. Is surprised that the officers of the Central Ministry, especially the Dīwān (Dastūr-i 'A'zam) himself have notwithstanding their strong memories have not represented this fact at the time of the submission of the said papers and the copy of the assignment (daul-i jāgīr) of Aurangzeb that they had themselves drawn up. Protests that such misrepresentation has caused displeasure of His Majesty who, owing to the annoyance caused, has even brought the matter of Islam into the matter. The fact is that Aurangzeb's jāgīrs in the Deccan including 40 lakh dāms assigned in Asīr, and the high-yielding assignments given in lieu of 10-monthly cash salary do not in aggregate exceed 8-monthly. If His Majesty thinks that Aurangzeb's assignments are still too high-yielding and so has decided to resume a further cash salary of 20 lakh dāms (assigning low-yielding jāgīrs in lieu thereof), Aurangzeb out of sincere loyalty would still accept it. The Emperor has remarked that Multafat Khān has reported that 40-or 50,000 rupees were sanctioned to be advanced as taqāvi for constructing dams in suba

Khāndesh and Berar of Pāyān Ghāt, the amount would be returned to the Imperial treasury within two years and would at the same time increase cultivation. He (Multafat Khān) had submitted the matter to Aurangzeb who had ordered that in respect of the parganas of jāgīrdārs, the matter should be submitted to His Majesty, so that whatever he orders may be done. His Majesty has observed that it was expected that Aurangzeb would have himself immediately sanctioned the stipulated amount from the Imperial treasury with the assurance (ta'ahud) that if the amount requisitioned was not accorded Imperial sanction then Aurangzeb would refund it to the Imperial Khālisa from his own establishment (sarkār). Submits that if he (Aurangzeb) does not take personal initiative in such a matter because of the way in which he was being brought to account without any fault of his. Previously when he had been granted authority and status in this sūba he never let such (petty) matters go to His Majesty directly or through the dīwāns. But now he must cut his coat according to his cloth, otherwise there would be no way of escaping censure. Otherwise in spite of his amicable conduct, he becomes subject to such censures. (This ambitious proposal of advancing taqvi by the royal exchequer for financing the raising of embankment in the provinces of Khāndesh and Berar, perhaps, did not materialise).

- 1.16 Assistance to Qutbul Mulk, Potentialities of Murshid Quli and his Jāgīr Assignment, etc. (August 1653, pp. 138-9):

Whatever has been ordered in dealings with the Rulers of the Deccan would be followed. It has been learnt that now-a-days 'Ādil Khān is contemplating hostilities with Qutbul Mulk in order to seize that part of the latter's territory in which the zamindārs of Karnatak have created disturbance. Under the circumstances he (Qutbul Mulk) would be helped according to the way His Majesty orders. The Emperor has ordered that "he (Aurangzeb) should abstain from according favour to Qutbul Mulk and keep him satisfied with him", it would be possible for Aurangzeb to placate Qutbul Mulk if he was informed of the contents of all Imperial orders issued to Qutbul Mulk so that he might ask him for answers thereto.

The Imperial orders were issued that "he (Aurangzeb) should strive for the prosperity of the Deccan Provinces. Murshid Quli who is a knowledgeable and competent officer should remain attached permanently with the duties of the dīwāni. Whatever is suggested by Murshid Quli in the public interest should be listened to. Efforts should be made to enforce crop sharing and abrogate the miscellaneous regulations (zawābit-i gūnāgon) which are the cause of ruin of that territory."

Submits that the writer has exerted all possible efforts and he is still engaged in the administration of the four provinces of the Deccan and the increase in their prosperity. Hopes that by the introduction of crop-sharing the country would be properly settled. Endorses His Majesty's observations about the efficiency and knowledge of Murshid Quli for that reason precisely Aurangzeb had recommended the grant of the Dīwāni of Bālāghāt to him. He has been helped and would receive all help in future. Murshid Quli hopes for a title so that his status may be further raised. If Multafat Khān is also granted a flag ('alam) it will enhance his prestige.

It was ordered about pargana Bīr¹ that "from the beginning of kharif crop of Īlān-i Īl in lieu of the said pargana be included in entirety in Khālisa. He (Aurangzeb) should receive 10-monthly cash salary (naqdi)."

Submits that since qasba Shāhgarh² and Machhlīgāon³ from pargana Bīr have always remained in his jāgīr and

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1. Pargana Bīr modern Bhīr was a single mahāl sarkār having painths (marts). Cf. Atlas, 56.
 2. Qasba Shāhgarh in sarkār Bīr was probably included in sarkār Jālnapur during Aurangzeb's reign. Cf. Atlas, 14A.
 3. Qasba Machhligaon is probably a misprint for Majhli-gaon (mod. Manjhlegaon). Cf. Atlas, 56.

in the entire territory of the Deccan no sela (muslin) of the fine quality suitable for offering to the Emperor's produced comparable to that of Shāhgarh. Requests for the restoration of the two mahāls. Murshid Quli administered that pargana as has been reported to His Majesty and imposed a uniform mode of revenue collection ('amal') throughout the pargana so Aurangzeb would also leave those (two) mahāls to his management.¹

Submits that he has informed Sazāwār Khān of the royal orders issued for his salary. Pargana Ankot etc., were previously assigned to Shāh Beg Khān, who has now agreed for its exchange with the parganas of Nandurbar and Sultānpur. However the revenues of both the parganas have declined so he requests that the jama' of these be fixed at 1,60,00,000 dāms (instead of 2 crore dāms), as had been conceded to Shāista Khān, and for the balance of 40,00,000 dāms he might be given jāgīr elsewhere.

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1. Murshid Quli Khan's reforms have also been described in other contemporary or near contemporary chronicles like Muhammad Sadiq Khan, Shahjahan-nama, Or. 174; Or 16714, Khafi Khān, Muntakhab-al Lubab, Calcutta, 18, Vol. II, 735. Cf. A.J. Syed, Aurangzeb in Muntakhab-al Lubab, Bombay, 1977, 58-60.

1.17 Recommendations for Promotion of Various Officials
(1653, pp. 154-6):

Notes conferment of title of Khān on Murshid Quli Khān. He has been informed of the Imperial instructions for introducing crop-sharing (batāi) in Bālāghat. Multafat Khān has also been granted a banner by the Emperor; he too has been conveyed Imperial orders to enforce batāi. What (measure) he would think for this would become known to the Imperial Court through his 'arzdāsht. Thanks the Emperor for the acceptance of his request about Muftakhar Khān. The Emperor has ordered that he (Aurangzeb) should train him under his guidance. Shāh Beg Khān who remains idle in Aurangābād be sent to Fathabad. Submits that the officials posted in the sūbas (of the Deccan) have concluded that unless they are assigned an office in the sūba like faujdārī, qila'dārī, etc., they would not receive promotions. Muftakhar Khān whose younger brother was awarded a title, office of bakhshī and promotion in rank, has submitted that if he was appointed to Fathabad he would perform the duties diligently. Since Aurangzeb in his previous charge of this sūba had high officials under him, but now has none such other than the Deccanis, looks forward to having with him an official like Shāh Beg Khān. Since Muḥammad Safī holding the office of the Bakhshī of the Deccan is a competent Khānazād, recommends award of the title

to him. Unless Aurangzeb had found him worthy of 1000 he would not have recommended him for 900 zat. He is a deserving Imperial official (Khānazād).

1.18 Aurangzeb's Arrival at Daulatabad and Introduction of Crop-sharing (December 1653 - January 1654, pp. 134-5):

Submits that he (Aurangzeb) left Burhānpur, leaving behind Muḥammad Tāhir¹ there who spent long time there and is well-acquainted with the peculiarities of that territory. The writer and the residents and peasants thereof were satisfied with his considerate behaviour, he (Aurangzeb) proceeded to Daulatābād and travelling through Fardāpur pass² which is on the right side of Nandapur at a distance of two and a half kurohs and is much easier than the pass of Rohankheda,³ reached Daulatābād on 14 Muharram.

Hopes that the affairs of that territory (Bālāghāt) would be settled as those of Pāyān Ghāt and that the in-

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1. Muḥammad Tāhir Mashhadi was granted the title of Wazīr Khān by Aurangzeb, Ma'mūri 96(b); Hātim Khān, Ālamgīrnāma, 150; Nuskha-i Dilkusha, 14(b); M.U. III, 936-40.
 2. Fardāpur pass situated in sarkār Baithalvādi, sūba Berār, Atlas, 36.
 3. Rohankheda pass in sarkār Narnāla, sūba Berar, Atlas, 36.

roduction of crop-sharing ('amal-i bātāi) at the order of His Majesty would increase the prosperity.

Since he (Aurangzeb) required an intelligent and knowledgeable person to discharge the duties attached to the office of the dīwān and Murshid Quli Khān, despite his assigned duties could supervise this office (dīwānī) the royal orders were issued that he would be entrusted with the office of the dīwān; or he should assign it to any of his other officials.

1.19 Qutbul Mulk's Peshkash, etc., (1653-4, p. 196):

Recommends conferment of title and standard ('alam) to Khwāja Barkhurdār, qilā'dār of Ausa, a competent official who holds 2000/2000 and is posted to the frontier.

Submits that Muḥammad Momin Ṣafdar Khāni,¹ an Imperial official who was sent by Aurangzeb to Qutbul Mulk was asked that on his return, he should collect elephants equal in worth half of peshkash from Qutbul Mulk. He brought 30 elephants including one-female elephant from Qutbul Mulk. Seven of these are defective not worthy

1. Muḥammad Momin Ṣafdar Khāni not identified. However, Ṣafdar Khān Khwāja 'Alāi (5000/5000) died as qila'dār of Qandahar, Lāhori, II, 720.

for His Majesty. The writer retained all the elephants and asked for the prices fixed by Qutbul Mulk. If it was ascertained that there was no difference in his prices and these assessed by Aurangzeb's officials, he would have despatched elephants with an Imperial official and an agent of Qutbul Mulk to the Imperial Court, otherwise Aurangzeb would communicate the difference in prices to the Court and act according to royal orders.

1.20 Peshkash from Qutbul Mulk etc. (1653-4, pp. 216-8):

The Imperial farmān was issued regarding the despatch of Qutbul Mulk's elephants and verification of the reports of Diyānat Khān and his clerk (peshdast).¹ On Ist Mihr, the elephants were sent off to the Imperial Court. After the arrival of the peshdast of Diyānat Khān and Brahmans,² Aurangzeb has thoroughly examined the matters which had come to the notice of His Majesty and the factual position of all the matters would be submitted to the Emperor, as these appear after investigation.

In most of the mahāls of Bālāghāt there have been heavy rains continuously for 15-16 days. It is hoped that

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1. Khwaja Kesu Dās Kayasth Saxena was the peshdast of Diyānat Khan, Diwan of the Deccan, see Zakhira, III, 37.
 2. Meghu Ram and Sivji Hemant were the two Brahmans, who alleged Diyānat Khan for unwarranted embezzlement had already died so their relatives were summoned, cf. Zakhira, III, 36-7.

there would be heavy rains twice or thrice more so that the kharif harvest (mazru'āt-i 'kharīfi') could ripe and the rabi' crop (nasq-i fasl-i rabi') might also be satisfactory.

Murshid Quli Khān who is an efficient servant and has discharged his assigned duties honestly has made utmost endeavours for the good administration and prosperity of the territory of Bālāghāt. Had the former dīwāns exerted in a similar way the affairs of this territory could not have deteriorated to this extent. Since his income does not meet his expenses, and while from Imperial generosity he used to hold 12-monthly jāgīr in Hindustan the hāsīl of his jāgīrs in the Deccan is 6-monthly, he is in considerable distress. He (Aurangzeb) can neither assign the jāgīr without His Majesty's orders nor recommend enhancement in rank. If he is favoured with an increase (in mansab) or if Imperial orders are issued that Aurangzeb assign him 8-monthly jāgīrs in lieu of his former jāgīr this would lead him to still further exertions out of gratitude to His Majesty. Murshid Quli Khān was competent enough to combine other duties like faujdārī of Māhūr¹ along with his office of dīwāni and discharge duties diligently, he should, therefore, be favoured thus.

1. Māhūr was the pargana and sarkār-headquarters, sūba Berar, Atlas, 9A, 14A-15A.

Rāo Karan is an Imperial official who mostly depends on the income from his watan-jāgīr. Recently Sabal Singh Bhatti,¹ who has been granted the zamīndārī of Jaisalmer, has raised a conflict over the boundary (hadd o'sim) which due to its proximity to Bikaner² and Jaisalmer,³ has always been a bone of contention. As a result disturbances have arisen in Rāo Karan's watan (jāgīr). Solicits Imperial orders restraining the zamīndārs of Jaisalmer from pursuing the quarrel.

1.21 Appointment of Shamsuddin as Incharge of Artillery (July-August 1654, pp. 198):

Refers to the Imperial orders that in lieu of pargana Ekil,⁴ sūba Bihār, Shamsuddin,⁵ in-charge of the Artillery of the Deccan, has been assigned another mahāl in the Deccan not yielding less than 7-monthly income. Sub-

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1. Rao Sabal Singh Jaisalmeri (Rajput) was initially granted the rank of (1000/700) in 1651-2, Waris, 147(a), as cited in Apparatus S., 5619, which he retained till 1657-8, Waris, 264(b), as cited in Apparatus S., 6867; Salih, III, 466.
 - 2&3. Bikaner and Jaisalmer were the two principalities situated in sarkar Bikaner in the middle of the 17th century. Cf. Atlas, 16.
 4. Pargana Ekil sarkar and sūba Bihār, Atlas, 10A.
 5. Shamsuddin s/o Mukhtār Khān (Irāni) (1000/400) was appointed the Dārogha-i Topkhāna of the Deccan in 1654, Waris, 185(a), as cited in Apparatus S., 5994.

mits that he has been granted pargana Nalgunda,¹ previously held by Uzbek Khān, which is yielding, after abatement, a 7-monthly income. As he is an efficient Khānazād, he is properly discharging his assigned duties. At the time of his appointment his jāgīr had been retained in the North. But now all his jāgīrs have been assigned in this sūba.

1.22 Recommendation for Promotion of Shafqatullah (1654, p. 151):

The peasantry of Tirmabak² has represented against the oppression and harsh conduct of Darwesh Beg Qāqshāl.³ Although he was admonished yet he did not improve. Accordingly it has been recommended that faujdāri and qila'dāri held by him be transferred to Shafqatullah⁴ son of Sazāwār Khān, an efficient Khānazād with the conditional increase of 100/100 raising thereby his rank to

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1. Pargana and sarkar Nalgunda in sūba Haidarabad, Atlas, 60.
 2. Pargana Trimbak, sarkār Sangamner, sūba Aurangabad, Atlas, 14A.
 3. Darwesh Beg Qāqshal (Tūrāni) (1000/450) was dismissed from the Qilādāri of Trimbak in 1654, Hyd. 4155, as cited in Apparatus S., 6283.
 4. Shafqatullah s/o Sazāwār Khān (Irāni) (700/400) was appointed Qilādār of Trimbak in 1654, Wāriṣ, 194(b), as cited in Apparatus S., 6043.

700/400. If that is approved then he would be assigned that post, otherwise someone else could be appointed.

1.23 Income and Expenditure of the Deccan (1654, pp. 156-8):

The position of the income and expenditure of the sūbas of the Deccan is as follows: On the expenditure side about Rs. 6,30,000 are fixed for the expenses of the Artillery (ahshām-i topkhāna), the stipend holders and other necessary expenses of the four sūbas and Rs. 25,43,000 have been assigned (tankhwāh shud) to the writer, and for the daily allowance of his sons (Khānazādgān) and others amounting to Rs. 31,76,000. As for income, this consists of the revenues of pargana Bīr and other khālisa sharifa mahāls plus Rs. 8,00,000 being Qutbul Mulk's peshkash and Rs. 1,00,000, the peshkash of the zamīndār of Deogarh, does not exceed Rs. 11,40,000. In such circumstances there is a deficit of Rs. 20,36,000 per annum. This deficiency has so far been met for some times only by drawing upon Rs. 80,00,000 which had been accumulated in the Deccan treasury.

When the writer came to this sūba he did not represent the matter to the Court despite his awareness of the facts. Now that during the recent years, a large sum from the treasury has been expended on the above heads,

leaving only Rs. 20,50,000 besides the 20 lakhs deposited in Daulatābād and Asīr treasuries. This amount of treasure is the minimum required for reserve in such a frontier province as this. Accordingly he has submitted the true facts to His Majesty. If the Imperial orders are issued he could resume of the mahāls of tuyūldārs (jāgīr-dārs) of an income (wuṣūlī) of Rs. 20,36,000 to the khālisa sharifa from the beginning of kharīf crop of the current year so that in future the income would be equal to expenditure. However, the jama'dāmi of these sūbas after deduction, comes to 1,44,90,00,000 dāms and its revenues (maḥsūl) at one crore rupees,¹ after the allowance of 12 lakh made for calamities by the Dīwāns, does not on average exceed three months. Of these 12 crore dāms are in jāgīrs and 3 crore dāms are held in in'ām by the writer and his sons. If jāgīrs worth Rs.20,36,000 are resumed in the khālisa then the majority of the officials posted in the Deccan would, surely, become jāgīr-less and they would necessarily have to be sent back to the Court. This would result in a reduction of nearly one-third in the size of the army, whose present situation is known to His Majesty, whereas what is required is a large army all the time in this sūba, owing to various factors, which set this sūba apart from provinces like Bengal and Gujarat.

1. Cf. Microfilm No. 470, f.68(a).

Submits that His Majesty has approved the above during his first Viceroyalty of the Deccan. Out of the entire jāgīr of the writer some parganas were assigned in other sūbas and cash salary (talab-i naqdi) assigned from Sūba Mālwa and the Port of Sūrāt and these high officers serving with jāgīrs in other sūbas. Solicits favourable orders.

1.24 Position of Jāgīrs in the Deccan (1654-5, pp. 165-8):

His Majesty has observed that although he (Aurangzeb) has not administered the affairs of the sūbas of the Deccan as well as he should have during the last three years and his entire jāgīr would be assigned in that sūba so that he might strive for the improvement of cultivation there, yet since owing to the low income of the jāgīrs in the Deccan, he suffers loss, he has been sanctioned 10 crore dāms at 10-monthly in cash (salary) for the next two years from the treasury of Sūba Malwa. For the balance of two crore dāms hitherto paid in cash, he may take (his jāgīrs) in the sūbas of the Deccan from the mahāls of the jāgīrdārs, as he chooses, together with pargana Nandurbār from the second half of Quī Il. Submits that although the administration is in the charge of the diwāns who have not committed any negligence in the work of increasing the cultivation and prosperity,

yet the efforts and pain taken by Aurangzeb himself has not been reported to the Emperor because of Aurangzeb's disinclination for self-praise. Submits that if the desired prosperity of a country which has remained desolated and ruined since long in numerous ways was not achieved as much as one would have wished within two or three years, that was not due to any negligence and shortcoming on his part. This year in most of the mahāls of Bālāghāt and Pāyān Ghāt about $\frac{1}{4}$ th increase in the jama' has come about over the jama' of the regime ('amal) of Diyānat Khān which would be known to the Emperor from the reports ('arāi'z) of the diwāns. Records his appreciation for the grant of 10 crore dāms as the cash salary from the Imperial treasury and Sūba of Mālwa. Submits that Aurangzeb does not indulge in unnecessary expenses. Whatever was sanctioned by the Emperor was spent on the salaries ('ulūfa) of his army. During the period the writer was maintaining his army from his cash salary and in case there is reduction in it, there would be a corresponding disruption of his army. Aurangzeb has been assigned the charge of this major frontier province (sūba-i 'unda-i sarhad) and its administration would be done according to His Majesty's will. If he takes away the selected jāgīrs of jāgīrdārs and assign them to himself in lieu of the cash pay, the officers concerned would return to the

Court owing to losing jāgīrs in the Deccan. The presence of a large army in this sūba is essential for the welfare of the country. If, anyhow they are to be assigned jāgīrs elsewhere in lieu of their jagirs, there is not enough pāibāqī in this country (wilāyat) to meet their claims. They would have to be assigned low-revenue paying mahāls in exchange of high revenue yielding (jaiyid) parganas which would greatly demoralise the officers. Leaves the matter for His Majesty's decision.

In compliance with the Imperial orders Aurangzeb has **selected** some portions from the mahāls of khālisa sharifa and the jāgīrdārs as per separate papers sent to the Court. Hopes that the Imperial officials taking into consideration the 10-monthly cash (naqd) assigned to him previously and the expenses and the calamities that one has to incur in jāgīrdārī would sanction two crore dāms from those parganas yielding an average of 6-monthly income, after the abatement in jama approved by His Majesty, from the beginning of the Kharīf harvest of Qui Īl. The revenues (maḥsūl) of pargana Nandurbar that Aurangzeb has reported is the total one without any loss (wusūl-i be 'āf'at), the Imperial dīwāns have made the calculations. The statement of the income (ḥāsil) of previous years of the said pargana together with the revenues of 1063 A.H., which is realised by share-cropping ('amal-i bātāī) is

being sent in separate sheets.

Since the pargana was previously assigned for 60 lakh dāms to (Prince) Murād Bakhsh¹ assignment to Aurangzeb with the same jama' in lieu of the naqdi would be a favour. In case this request is conceded, since the revenues of rabī' crop of the pargana, which crop in this country generates larger revenues and has now been fully harvested, Sazāwār Khān (the previous assignee) has realised it (mutasarrif gashta) and the return of the share of half of the rabī' crop would be difficult for him, requests for its assignment (tankhwāh) from the beginning of kharif crop. After the matter of the tankhwah of Nandurbar is settled (mushakhkhas) the Imperial orders would be followed regarding Sazāwār Khān. If jāgīr in lieu of his cash salary is available here that would be better, otherwise he would be sent to the Imperial Court.

The new branding regulations (zābita-i dāgh) which have further improved control over the officers would be enforced from the date of the receipt of the farmān.

1. Prince Murād Bakhsh was transferred from the sūbedari of the Deccan in 1649 (Wāriṣ, 87(a), as cited in Apparat^{us} S., 4646). He was sūbedar of Gujarat in 1654, E.F., IX, 251.

1.25 Revenues of Mandawi Jahānābād (1654-5, pp. 147-8):

Refers to the Imperial orders that he (Aurangzeb) should send the amount of revenues of Mandawi Jahānābād Burhānpur in the sarkār (establishment) of Nawwab Begum to Shāista Khān (then Governor of Mālwa) by his servants. Submits that in compliance with the Imperial orders he can send Rs. 1,90,000 the current hāsil of the Mandawi to (Shāista) Khān, which has accumulated. Submits that since the despatch would involve cost of transportation (wajh-i kirāya), this amount may be granted to Aurangzeb in lieu of two years cash salary (tankhwāh-i talab-i naqdi) which has been sanctioned to him from the Imperial treasury of Sūba Mālwa. He would then take the revenues of the Mandawi, while Umdatul Mulk (Shāista Khān) should collect Aurangzeb's entire cash salary from the Mālwa treasury and send it to Jahān Ārā. This would result in economy.

1.26 Revenue Resources of the Deccan (1654-5, pp. 163-4):

Refers to the Imperial censure.¹ Aurangzeb had offered the excuse for the lack of improvement in the provinces of the Deccan that the responsibility of dealing with

1. Shahjahan's censure emanated from his observations that since the income from the Deccan was one crore rupees it was equal to the revenues of Tranoxiana (hasil-i kul Māwarāun Nahr). M.F. No. 470 (Department of History Library, AMU, Aligarh) f.68(a).

matters of the pargana vests with the dīwāns. Submits that the management and maintenance of this country has certainly been entrusted to him by the Emperor. However, since detailed work was the business of the dīwāns, and he cannot do all of it by himself, he had represented accordingly. Submits that he has been making considerable effort for the extension of cultivation and prosperity of this territory (wilāyat). Whether cash salary (talab-i naqdi) is sanctioned as heretofore or jāgīr is assigned in lieu of the same, he would not be backward in fulfilling his duty. Whatever he had thought proper, he had submitted to the Emperor; whatever the Emperor thinks of it would be in conformity with wisdom. Sazāwār Khān would also be sent to the Imperial Court.

The details of the arrears of tribute (peshkash) of previous years outstanding against the zamīndār of Deogarh and mode of its realization would be submitted to His Majesty separately. The zamīndār is loyal. He has to remit Rs.1,00,000 per annum on account of his peshkash; however due to decline in income (wuqū'-i' hāsil) of his zamīndārī he has failed to clear arrears. The Emperor had remitted the entire peshkash of the zamīndār of Chānda. Solicits similar remission of the arrears of the (zamīndār of Deogarh) so that with this relief he may regularly deposit the stipulated peshkash per annum in the royal treasury.

1.27 Condition of Aurangzeb's Jāgīrs (1654-5, pp. 190-92):

Thanks His Majesty for the assignment of pargana Sultānpur as in'ām to Prince Muhammad Sultān.¹ An imperial order has been issued granting pargana Nandurbar to him (Aurangzeb) from the second half of Rabī' Quī Īl, in lieu of cash (naqdi) and requiring that Aurangzeb should depute one of his trusted officials there and despatch Sazāwar Khān to the Imperial Court.

Submits that parganas of Nandurbar and Sultānpur had been assigned to the writer (dākhil-i daul-i tankhwāh-i jāgīr) when he had been appointed to the Deccan. When the Emperor learnt of their ruined conditions these were excluded from the daul-i jāgīr of the writer. Imperial orders were issued to Multafat Khān that since these parganas have ruined to such an extent due to the carelessness ('adam pardākht) of the tuyūldārs (jāgīrdārs), he should submit the details of the desolation of the affairs of that mahāl, transfer the parganas to the khālisa and make endeavours for their improvement. Multafat Khān had sent the papers of ten years' income (afrād-i hāsīl-i deh sāla) of those two mahāls, both under khālisa and jāgīrdārs, to the Imperial Court. Probably the diwāns have ignored these sheets

1. Prince Muhammad Sultān was granted the rank of 7000/2000 in 1655, Wāris 235(b) as cited in Apparatus 3., 6429.

(aurāq) and not represented the factual position to His Majesty, otherwise the Imperial orders would not have described Nandurbār as excellent and prosperous (jaiyid-o ābād) when its income does not exceed Rs.92,000. Remarks that if His Majesty wants to assign a 5-monthly jāgīr in lieu of the writer's 10-monthly cash (naqd) than one would have no option but obey. If permitted, Aurangzeb would assign pargana Nandurbār to Sazāwār Khān an old efficient Imperial official and in lieu of Sultānpur assigned to writer's son as in'ām he would assign salary (tankhwāh) to him elsewhere equivalent to its hāsil. However, if he (Sazāwār Khān) was sent to the Imperial Court then pargana Nandurbār would be handed over to Multafat Khān in compliance with the previous royal orders so that he might administer it.

Records increase of 500 du aspa sih aspa to Ilhāmullah, son of Rashīd Khān.

.28 Peshkash of the Zamīndār of Deogarh (1655, pp. 211-3):

His Majesty has observed that there is no force in the proposed remission of the arrears of the zamīndār of Deogarh on account of his poverty. He was the very zamīndār against whom the late Khān-i Daurān had led an expedition, and from whom he had collected 170 elephants as well as a large amount in cash. It has been reported that he possess-

es over 200 elephants including Jayā Shankar. He does not have troops like those posted in the Deccan. After the rainy season, Aurangzeb should depute Prince Muḥammad Sultān or any other competent official with an strong army comprising Imperial troops as well as his own men to bring Jaya Shankar and other elephants and recover arrears of peshkash outstanding against him. Submits that having obtained latest information about the conditions of the adjoining principalities of the Deccan he will, if such expedition is decided upon, not let his troops idle but post them to the expedition. How was it possible that a zamīndār, despite his capacity and resources to pay the peshkash, should act in defiance and rebellion. Since the zamīndār visited Burhānpur without army being despatched against him, met Aurangzeb and promised to pay the fixed peshkash. Subsequently Aurangzeb deputed one of his officials to make enquiries about his elephants. After spending three or four months in that territory and getting information, he has reported that the zamīndār did not possess more than 14 elephants. When the late Khan-i Daurān had marched against his father, there had been no decline in the revenues and his father had collected the elephants over a long period of years. The present zamīndār has ruined himself due to his extravagances as well as failed to administer that territory properly due to incom-

petence. Under such circumstances if the arrears of peshkash are demanded through a military expedition, the result would be nothing besides tumult in his territory. In view of this Aurangzeb had recommended concessions so as to obtain (at least) the fixed annual peshkash. However, now that His Majesty wants to take military action against him Aurangzeb would act accordingly. .

If His Majesty would prefer the annexation of his principality, orders to this effect may be issued so that Aurangzeb may assign his son (Muḥammad Sulṭān), who has reached his youth, to the task so that he may liberate the mahāls of his zamindāri and expel the chief in a shortwhile. If, however, what is wanted is recovery of the arrears of tribute and collection of elephants than any of the Imperial officials posted in the Deccan could be deputed to his territory so that he may seize all the elephants he has and make him pay the peshkash. Although Aurangzeb had tried to collect information through his men sent there it appears there is no elephant of the name Jayā Shankar. They say this is the name of a fort on top of a hill. Nor is it probable he possesses so many elephants. If he had possessed them then Shāhnawāz Khān¹ who in compliance with

1. Shāh Nawāz Khān Ḥafavi (Irāni) (5000/5000 (3000x2-3h) was appointed sūbedar of Mālwa and the Deccan in 1647, Wāriṣ 17(a) as cited in Apparatus 3., 4312.

the Imperial orders had marched against him with the entire army of this sūba would have definitely collected the elephants in lieu of the peshkash, and a part of the annual stipulated (peshkash) would not have been remitted by His Majesty owing to the chief's lack of resources, nor would he have remained in Burhānpur for the sake of realising the peshkash.

- 1.29 Recalcitrance of the Zamindār of Jawār (September-October 1655, pp. 161-2):

Solicits flag and kettle drum to Hadī Dād Khān (2500/2500), Sūbadār of Telingana, who maintains an excellent contingent. As of now the Zamindār (Chief) of Jawār¹ is defiant and guilty of unbecoming acts. Since the Imperial peshkash has not been imposed upon him he displays carelessness and negligence in discharging the Imperial obligations. Rao Karan promises that if the principality of Jawār was assigned to him as in'ām or added to his salary (tankhwāh) by the Court, he would deposit Rs.50,000 as peshkash in the Imperial treasury and by administering his territory with his own contingent he would bring the territory within Imperial dominions. His Majesty's orders are solicited.

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1. Jawār (mod. Jawhar) stands north of Bombay on plateau between the Western Ghats and the Arabian Sea was in the hands of a zāmīndār, History of Aurangzeb, I, 114, Atlas, 55.

1.30 Grant of Jawār to Rāo Karan (1655, pp. 199-200):

Thanks His Majesty for increase of 500 sawārs of Rao Karan and the orders for assignment of the territory of Jawār for 40 lakh dāms on account of additional salary. Promises that the writer would assign the principality (of Jawār) to him and deposit the stipulated peshkash in the Imperial treasury after collecting it from him. Recommends issue of manshūr (Imperial order) granting the principality of Jawār as his waṭan. Solicits restoration of reduction of 500 zāt previously made in Rāo Karan's rank and assignment of its salary from the territory of Jawār. Appreciates the conferment of standard and kettle-drum on Hadi Dād Khān.¹

1.31 Conquest of Deogarh etc. (1655, pp. 214-15):

Imperial orders were issued that Aurangzeb could conquer the principality of Deogarh then he should depute Prince Muḥammad Sultān for the task or Hadi Dad Khān should be sent there with a strong army. Submits that although the conquest of that principality was easy, but to keep it and administer it was difficult, since besides the revenues thereof a large amount would have to be spent annually on

1. Hādi Dād Khan s/o Rashīd Khān Ansari (Afghan) (1000/300) was the Nāẓim of Sūba Telingana in 1655, Wāris 222(b) as cited in Appāratus 3., 6373.

the administration of that territory. This is why till now Imperial officers have not attempted to conquer and annex it. The writer also in view of the same did not propose this and had accordingly petitioned His Majesty. If orders are issued to this effect then he will assign his son to the task. As of now, he will despatch Imperial armies against him for realising the peshkash both arrears and the current amount, and collecting the elephants owned by him as pointed out by Zamīndār of Chānda, including the elephant Jayā Shankar.

Submits that although Hādī Dād Khān is an efficient official having strong contingent yet he has not in recent times undertaken such a task, and that is perhaps why some of the Imperial officials do not at heart wish to cooperate with him and it is possible that the disagreements and his inability to lead the others may disrupt arrangements. Despite this, since it has been determined that Imperial troops enter that territory, Aurangzeb has decided that half of the army should be sent under the command of Hādī Dād Khān whereas the remaining half be under the charge of Mirza Khān owing to whose status as a high noble no one would be disinclined to accompany him. Aurangzeb's own contingents (tābīnān) under command of Muḥammad Tāhir or any other trusted officials, would be sent with Mirzā Khān.

1.32 Peshkash from Deogarh and Golconda (1655, pp. 218-9):

In connection with the collection of the whole arrears of peshkash and seizure of all elephants including Jayā Shankar from the Zamīndār of Deogarh, submits that instructions have already been issued to Mirzā Khān and Hādī Dād Khān regarding the realization of the entire peshkash from the Zamīndār of Deogarh. Hopes for the successful completion of the task and seizure of all the elephants from him.

In regard to the elephant which he (Aurangzeb) had obtained from Qutbul Mulk and then presented as peshkash to the Emperor, the Imperial orders have come that it would not be counted as peshkash from Aurangzeb, and its price would be allowed to Qutbul Mulk, since what Aurangzeb has done is not in conformity with proper management. Submits that if he knew that Qutbul Mulk would show hesitation, he would have made an allowance for the price of the elephants (in his peshkash, as may be seen from Qutbul Mulk's communication to his hājib which would be shortly presented to His Majesty through Aurangzeb's wakil. It was only on that basis that Aurangzeb accepted that elephant, and looking to the financial benefit of the Government, made a peshkash of it to His Majesty.¹

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1. Since Shahjahan had remained suspicious throughout the period of the second Viceroyalty of Aurangzeb he always took issue with the Prince on 6 non-issues as we come across numerous instances in Ādāb in addition to the calendared documents which have, however, been excluded as these are mere repetitions, viz, 147, 405-6, 502, 509, 544-5, 633-5, 808-9 & passim.

1.33 Peshkash from the Zamīndār of Jātba (1655, pp. 225-6):

The Imperial orders have been issued that Aurangzeb should despatch an army against the Zamīndār of Jātba. Since Aurangzeb had deployed the Imperial armies from two directions against the principality of Jātba, the zamīndār sensing the danger has submitted and promised to hand over all the elephants possessed by him, remit the arrears of peshkash due to the Court and present himself before Aurangzeb in company with Mirzā Khān.

1.34 Peshkash of the Zamīndār of Jatba (1655, pp. 234-6):

Submits that the Zamīndār of Jātba came with Mirza Khān to see Aurangzeb. He has brought 20 elephants, male and female, which he possessed and insists that he had no other elephants except these. The Zamīndār of Chānda and Annaik, his wakil who had gone to the Imperial Court said that they had no information about Jayā Shankar and other elephants of Jatba and they had been misrepresented at the Court. The true facts of the realization of the arrears and current amount of peshkash from the Zamīndar of Jātba is this that the zamīndār would deposit five lakh rupees in cash and kind in the royal treasury. He also promises that he would remit the arrears of the period ('amal) of the former ṣūbadārs along with the annual stipulated peshkash in future. Afterwards he would remit the amount of peshkash year to year

without fail. He has detached some parganas in his territories and handed them over to Kārṭalab Khān,¹ thānedār of Kherla,² so that if the collection of revenues in lieu of the amount of tribute is not made, he (Kārṭalab Khān) should be answerable for it. The Zamīndār who commands a strong contingent wants to accompany Aurangzeb in this expedition (against Golconda). Submits that Aurangzeb would take him along with his contingent and give reasonable concession to him in matter of five lakh rupees which he has to pay this year.

Rao Karan who had led an expedition to Jawār, displayed much activity and exertion. The Zamīndār (of Jawār) has seen him and he (Rāo Karan) wants to join Aurangzeb within a few days after settling that territory (wilāyat).

1.35 Impact of Branding Regulations on Schedules of Pay (1655, pp. 178-9):

Imperial orders have been received in response to the writer's petition regarding the branding regulations to this effect that since the hāsil of the jāgīrs of the majority of

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1. Kārṭalab Khān Deccani (Indian M.) (300/2000 (1000x2-3h)) was the thānedar of Kherla in 1656, Wārīs 260(b) as cited in Apparatus 3., 6721.
 2. Kherla was in sūba Berār, Atlas, 36.

the officials posted in the Deccan is 4-monthly or, mostly, less than that. Therefore, whereas previously for 3-monthly (jāgīrs) the rate of Rs.17½ per month was fixed per horse, for 2-monthly Rs.15/-, now, with effect from 1st Mīhr, the beginning of Kharīf Yūnt Īl, the rate of Rs 20/- has been fixed in these two cases (3-monthly and 2-monthly) as well, at par with 4-monthly. Gratified at this concession, since a horse-man (sawār) whose salary ('ulūfa) is less than Rs. 20/- would not be of any use. Since due to this regulation, some may benefit while others may suffer loss, and there is need for recovery of Imperial claims from mansabdārs, the Emperor has also ordered that has he any other measure in mind, let him submit it for consideration, so that if this conforms to financial constraints and is approved, it may be put into effect. Therefore, whatever has come to the writer's mind in this regard has been submitted through a separate statement; should it prove to be feasible, it may graciously be approved.

Recommends award of title for Muḥammad Shāh, qīladar of Qandahār who is an old official.

- 1.36 Problems of Enforcement of Branding Regulations (1655, pp. 148-50):

The difficulties in the execution of the fresh branding regulations (zabīta-i dāgh), the detailed schedules (dastūr-

ul 'amal) whereof had been sent to the Deccan by Sa'adullah Khān, had been recorded in the Waqāi' and must have been brought to the notice of His Majesty. But no orders have been received from the Court regarding the matter. Notwithstanding the writer's injunctions for the implementation of the new regulations (zābita-i jadīd), except the officials who have put into effect the papers from Kharif (crop) of Īlān-Īl, none has actually implemented it (in practice). This would create further disturbance among troops and excessive increase of unrealizable claims on the mansabdārs.

The real situation of the army stationed in these provinces and the numerical strength of the armies of the Deccan rulers is known to His Majesty.

Under the new regulations the number of the army is put at a higher figure, but in reality what is required will not be there. For according to these Regulations the salary ('ulūfa) of the horsemen (tābīnān) has been fixed from Rs. 20/- to Rs. 17/- and 15/-, and the number of horsemen (sawārs) required raised by 9000 whereas the jāgīrs of the majority of mansabdārs are less than three monthly, and it is clear that with this low income, what kind of horses they would maintain and what work would be done by them. This despite the fact that when earlier, the zāt salary was at three-monthly excluding one-tenth allowed for expense of administration (kharch-i parganāt) and the sawārs received

Rs. 32/- in salary most of them have failed to bring their troops and the default of each recorded (tashīḥa) in the offices. If they now receive only two-monthly or one-monthly for the zat what income would they have to keep? Especially these days, when under (the newly introduced) crop-sharing the expenses have doubled on account of the needs of guarding the grain (muhāfizāt-i ghalla).

Imperial orders have been issued regarding the realization of state demands "one-fourth should be resumed from the income (hāsil) of some jāgirs and one-fifth to one-sixth from the rest of the jāgirs." What would be left after deduction of mutālība on this scale and how anyone would be able to maintain the contingents. Though the army (jami'at) is not always needed, yet, it may be required. Submits that His Majesty may graciously himself consider the matter, whatever decision he takes would be correct one.

1.37 Branding Regulations (Zābita-i Dāgh) (1655, p. 194):

Submits that he has already represented in detail on the matter of the branding regulations along with detailed sheets of information attached thereto. But this has not been referred to in the Imperial famnān. Probably the dignitaries of the Empire have not conveyed his objections to the Emperor, otherwise the Emperor's reply would surely have come and have calmed the anxieties of the officials posted in this sūba.

1.38 Peshkash from Qutbul Mulk (1655, pp. 158-9):

Submits that in accordance with the Imperial orders out of the elephants sent by Qutbul Mulk seven elephants with defects were returned to his wakīl while 22 elephants were retained. A mansabdār was appointed as dārogha of the elephants. Murshid Quli Khān was also directed to keep the elephants in good health to be despatched to the Imperial Court.

1.39 Imperial Sanction for attack on Golconda (1656, p. 248):

In case owing to the great ingratitude and gross lapses of Qutbul Mulk, in order to prevent his example being followed by others, the Emperor orders an invasion of his country, promises that the diamonds, elephants, the treasure and goods that he has seized following the imprisonment of the son of Mīr Jumla,¹ which all belong to His Majesty and 22 lakh rupees being the arrears of the fixed annual tribute along with additional adequate peshkash, would be duly taken from him.

1. Mīr Muhammad Ja'id Muazzam Khan Mīr Jumla (Irāni) (1000/5000) was appointed the Diwān-i Kul in 1656, (Fris 216(b) as cited in Apparatus S., 6329, M.U. III, 530). He was promoted to 6000/6000, Wārīs 240 (b) as cited in Apparatus S., 6449.

1.40 Measures for Realising Tribute from Qutbul Mulk (1656, pp. 230-32):

Submits that Aurangzeb has postponed his march to Hyderabad as the Zamīndār of Jatba has not arrived owing to delay occasioned by his having to bring the elephants as peshkash. Aurangzeb has deputed his son (Sultān Muḥammad) to the frontiers so that if Qutbul Mulk does not release the son and relatives of Mīr Jumla, he might get them released by speedily marching to Hyderabad. He (Aurangzeb) himself would march closely behind him. Now that the Zamīndār is expected to see the writer on 23rd of the month with Mirzā Khān, and the Imperial farmān for which Aurangzeb had been yearning has arrived; he is satisfied that the rulers of the Deccan cannot frustrate his efforts to realise the enormous peshkash.

The Emperor doubtless knows of the large area and the prosperity of the Kingdom of Qutbul Mulk containing mines of diamonds, crystal etc. Since he has not shown loyalty and disregarding past Imperial favours has adopted a refractory attitude, while Mīr Jumla was coming up against him with a large army, suitable artillery and many elephants such a golden opportunity should not be missed. Submits that if the efforts of the Rulers of the Deccan who are making representations and offering large peshkash were foiled, and no one else from any quarter interferes, then Aurangzeb would annex that kingdom with the principa-

lity of Karnatak,¹ in Mir Jumla's hands, which is not inferior to Golconda, containing as it does many (sources of) rarities such as gems, uncountable treasures and numerous ports. On hearing from the communication of the hājib at Bījāpur that notwithstanding the Imperial orders 'Ādil Khān was contemplating to help Qutbul Mulk with his army, he has also sent a nishān to him warning him of the evil consequences of infidelity. If he did not follow this counsel, then if His Majesty's favours continue, he would be awarded suitable punishment with the cooperation of the illustrious Khān (Mīr Jumla).

1.41 Recommendations for the Jāgīr of Multafat Khān (1656, p. 229):

Submit that he (Aurangzeb) in compliance with the Imperial orders has assigned 23 lakh dāms as pay against 500 zāt of Multafat Khān according to 8-monthly. But since 94-lakh dāms of his previous jāgīr in this sūba are low revenue paying he was depending on his income from his jāgīrs in Hindustān throughout this period. Now the income from his entire jagīr does not exceed 6-monthly, yet according to the rule (ʿābīṭa) of this province he has to get branded 90

1. Karnatak or Karnatak of Hyderabad was conquered by Mīr Jumla which was annexed to the Mughal empire when the latter joined the Mughals in 1655.

sawārs more than previously. Earlier some of the officials who have been assigned (jāgīr) in this sūba in lieu of their high revenue paying jāgīrs in the North have received 7-monthly jāgīrs. Solicits favourable orders for the grant of such assignments to him as to make his entire jāgīrs in this sūba 7-monthly. Since pargana Pātode¹ was assigned to him with effect from kharīf crop the revenue of which is quite low as compared to the rabi' crop, which has now been transferred with effect from beginning of rabi', he has to incur much loss. He (Multafat Khān) is hopeful that the said pargana be transferred to Khālisa from the beginning of kharīf crop so that he may be assigned in lieu of the kharīf harvest equivalent assignments in this sūba.

- 1.42 Branding Regulations and Realization of Mutālība from Rāo Karan (1656, p. 219):

In compliance with the Imperial orders Aurangzeb would submit his proposals regarding the new branding regulations; and the realization of the arrears (mutālibāt) would be made according to His Majesty's orders. Therefore, the entire revenues of pargana Posad assigned in jāgīr (māhāl-i tuyūl) of Rāo Karan would be included in Khālisa Sharifa from the beginning of Kharīf Yūnt Īl to effect the realization of mutaliba outstanding against him.

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1. Pargana Pātode sarkār, Sangamner sūba Aurangabad, Atlas 14A.

With regard to realization of arrears of peshkash from Qutbul Mulk on account of the difference in the rate of hun, Imperial orders have been sent to Murshid Quli Khān. Aurangzeb has also sent a nishān to him. Now his reply to the nishān has been received, and is being sent to the Court for the Emperor's orders thereon.

1.43 Recommendations for Shah Beg Khān and Murshid Quli Khān, 1656, pp. 236-8):

Submits that Shāh Beg Khān is the holder of a high mansab with a large contingent, but was left idle in the fort of Ahmadnagar. Since now-a-days troops are needed, Aurangzeb has summoned him. He is counted among the trusted Imperial officials who could be entrusted important charges. Aurangzeb has no other high official except for Multafat Khān and so wanted to retain him (Shāh Beg Khān) with him. He has persuaded him to agree to join Aurangzeb in the expedition and has assigned him the charge of Ahmadnagar. An increase of 500 (200 x 2-3 h) has been recommended so that he would hold the rank of 1500/500 (200 x 2-3 h) and discharge his assigned duties.

Since Murshid Quli Khān has diligently performed the duties of the Diwān of Bālāghāt and he can in addition discharge

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1. Murshid Quli Khān was appointed Diwān of Pāinghāt in addition to Bālāghāt in 1656, Wāriṣ 224(a) as cited in Apparatus 3., 6379.

the duties of the Dīwān of Pāyān Ghāt, he has been assigned the latter duties as well upon transfer of Multafat Khān. Recommends an increase of 500/200 enhancing his rank to 2000/1000 so that he may perform his duties properly. Solicits approval of his recommendations.

1.44 Aurangzeb's Jāgīrs and Recommendation for the Release of Inderman Zamīndār (1656, pp. 186-7):

Thanks His Majesty for abatement of 12 lakh dāms in the parganas of sarkār Bījāgarh, the Prince's own assignments.

Inderman,¹ Zamīndār of Dhandhera,² who has been interned in the Asīr fort since long in accordance with the Imperial orders has sent a representative to the writer. If he was released he would deposit Rs. 50,000 as peshkash in the Imperial treasury and also serve for one year, without mansab and jāgīr, with 50 sawārs and 100 piyādas in the sūba of the Deccan. Subsequently, he would maintain his contingent according to the mansab granted to him by His Majesty.

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1. Inderman was the Zamīndār of Dhandhera who had remained interned for 20 years under Shāhjahān. He was imprisoned in 1637 and released by Aurangzeb, M.U., II, pp. 265-6, SDSR, 48.
 2. Dhandhera (probably Dhindori) is in sarkār Sangamner, sūba Aurangābād: Atlas, 55.

He would always remain there without having any designs of returning to his native place (watan-i khaish). Narsingh Dās,¹ qildār of Asīr (fort)² has tendered surety for payment of the amount of peshkash. Recommends acceptance of offer.

Submits that Muḥammad 'Ināyat Khān³ son of Islām Khān,⁴ had 8-monthly jāgīr in Hindustān whereas the hāsīl of his jāgīr in the Deccan does not exceed 5-monthly. He is a deserving hereditary servant and it has been known from the waqāi' of sarkār Mehkar⁵ that a faujdār is needed there, he has been appointed the faujdār of the sarkār and a conditional enhancement of 100/100 recommended, making his rank 600/200. He was also assigned the pay for the additional rank (talab-i izāfa), on a 3-monthly basis in pargana Mehkar. Solicits favourable orders.

1. Narsingh Dās s/o Rāja Dwārka Dās (Rājput) was the Qildār of Junnar in 1652. Wāriṣ 168(a) as cited in Apparatus S., 5745
2. Asīr (Asīrgarh), the celebrated fortress was in sarkār Asīr, sūba Khāndesh, Atlas 9A, 14A.
3. Muḥammad 'Ināyat Khān s/o Islām Khān was Bakhshī and waqāi' Nawāis of Burhānpur in 1654, Wāriṣ 212(a) as cited in Apparatus S., 6202.
4. 'Abdus Salām Mashhadi, Ikhtisās Khān, Islām Khān (6000/6000 (5000x2-3h) was appointed Sūbedar of the Deccan in 1645 which he enjoyed till 1647 with the rank of (7000/7000 (5000x2-3h)), Lāhori II, 430, 679-80.
5. Sarkār Mehkar (Mahkar) in sūba Berar, Atlas 9A, 14A, 15A.

1.45 Recommendations for the Appointment of Officials
(1657, p. 180):

Refers to the assignment of the charge as well as recommendations for enhancement of the sons of Mir Musa Khan¹ who are competent Imperial officials. Since a faujdār was required in sarkār Kalam² the writer has recommended 200/100 in addition to the original mansab of Hoshdār Khān son of Multafat Khān who is a competent khānazād conditional on the faujdārī thereof his rank now to be 900/400.

2. Letters to Princess Jahan Ara.³

2.1 Aurangzeb's Jāgīrs (1652, pp. 807-8):

Refers to the hasbul hukm that Aurangzeb will be deputed to the Deccan after waiting upon His Majesty However, when, in accordance with the hasbul hukm, the daul-i jāgīr of the Deccan which was sent by the Court to the Dastūrul Wuzarā (Sa'dullah Khān), was scrutinised, it was found with much surprise that there was a great difference between the realization and the assessment (?), and it was not apparent what the reason for all this shortfall

1. Mīr Mūsā Khān not identified.

2. Sarkār, Kalam in sūba Berār, Atlas, 9A, 14A, 15A.

3. Aurangzeb has used Sahibatuz Zamani, Sahib-i Man, throughout his correspondence with Princess Jahan Ara Begum. For biographical details, see G. Yazdani, Jahanara, Hyderabad, 1937.

is. If His Majesty wants that Aurangzeb should remain in a corner then Baglāna alone which was previously assigned as altamghā is sufficient. If, however, His Majesty appoints him to such an important sūba then he should be treated in such a manner that he does not feel himself humiliated before the age and the rulers of the Deccan and that he should also not be held to censure by His Majesty (for failing in fulfilling his duties owing to limited resources).

2.2 Grant of Baglāna to Aurangzeb (1652, p. 809):

Acknowledges the receipt of her letter (in response to the 'arzdāsht'), which was received on Wednesday, 2nd of Ramāzān, informing Aurangzeb that Baglāna had been assigned to him as in'ām in addition to this daul. It was communicated that 2/3rd of the pay granted as jāgīr and 1/3rd as naqd (cash) and that some of the jāgīrs assigned are being changed. Hopes that this matter will be represented to His Majesty after Aurangzeb arrives at the Court.

2.3 Recommendations for Shāhnawāz Khān to Jahan Ara Begum (1652, p. 811)

Although Shāhnawāz Khān is sincerely loyal to Her Highness (Jahān Ārā), yet because of bhāi (brother) Murād Bakhsh's ill-treatment, he is not willing to go to the Deccan.

Since the presence of such an official is necessary in that

border region, and since it is not possible without Her Highness' intervention, and he has incurred great expenses in the Qandahār expedition, Aurangzeb hopes that his affairs be set right by Her Highness' attention better than they were before.

2.4 Difficulties of Aurangzeb in Administering Deccan (1657, pp. 828-31):

Refers to his appointment to different posts and proper discharge of various assignments without any derilection of duty. Expresses his anxiety over His Majesty's present lack of confidence in Aurangzeb. The Asīrgarh fort was previously held by him, then assigned to Murād Bakhsh and subsequently to Aurangzeb. But now in supersession of the previous orders Aurangzeb's qila'dār has been forbidden from going there. The reason is not known. If this is because of his entering into a marriage engagement (nisbat) (for his son) what can one say since when that matter was brought up at the Court His Majesty had said Aurangzeb was free to do as he liked.¹ Is astonished that despite Aurangzeb's twenty years of service he does not enjoy Impe-

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1. Aurangzeb and Shujā' had arranged two matrimonial alliances of their children. Muḥammad Sultān was to be married to Shujā's daughter, while his son Sultān Zainuddin was engaged to a daughter of Aurangzeb which was not to Shāh-jahān's liking who asked Aurangzeb to marry Muḥammad Sultān elsewhere. Aurangzeb, however, told Shāhjahān that he would willingly carry out the Imperial orders in regard to the engagement of his other sons. Najib Ashraf, Muqad-dama-i Ruqa't-i 'Alamgir, 218-21.

rial confidence like his brother's son (probably Sulaiman Shikoh)¹ and if there is any other cause then Aurangzeb should be informed accordingly to avoid it in future.

Similarly despatch of Mulla Shauqi, an official of Ehāijī (Prince Dārā Shikoh) by him to the ruler of Bijāpur for communicating some good news and acceptance of his representations has further increased his spirit of defiance.

Although Aurangzeb does not count himself among the close disciples (of the Emperor) yet he has enjoyed a respectable career due to His Majesty and has spent a considerable period in the Deccan (during his first Viceroyalty) and is still its Viceroy for the second time by His Majesty's graciousness. Observes that such incidents cause him humiliation, for which he fails to comprehend the real reason. If the Emperor wants that he should, unlike other servants, spend his life in disgrace, there is no escape there. Better that His Majesty relieves him of such a position. He (Aurangzeb) had realized this fact a decade earlier and tendered his resignation, but then submitted to continue just to please His Majesty. His solicitation should better have been accepted at that time Let her (Jahān Ara) inform His Majesty and whatever His Majesty decides for him he will follow.

1. Sulaimān Shikoh (20,000/15,000 (5000x2-3h) was the elder son of Dārā Shikoh, Salih, III, 279.

Protests at the summoning of Malik Husain¹ to the royal Court after being granted a mansab along with another set of officials despite his having been a servant of Aurangzeb, though a Khānazād of His Majesty and trained by Aurangzeb for His Majesty's service. If the tābīnān of Aurangzeb are offered Imperial services with higher ranks than none (retainers) would remain with him, and the contingent which Aurangzeb has gathered in twenty years would be scattered. How could he then discharge his obligations. After further protestations of his loyalty and unjustness of these actions Aurangzeb requests Jahān Ārā to report his protest privately to Shāhjahān, and inform of his response so that he may then seek forgiveness of his faults.

3. Letter to Qutbul Mulk's Sister.

3.1 Seeks her Help for Remittance of Peshkash (1657, pp.257-8):

'Ali 'Adil Khān had promised that of the entire Imperial peshkash he would despatch one crore rupees in cash, diamonds and elephants and send the remaining 50 lakh rupees within two years. The Imperial orders were issued for the appointment of Qāzi Nizāmā² a trusted Imperial official,

1. Malik Husain b/o Muzaffar Husain (Turani) (900/400), Salih, III, 470.

2. Qazi Nizāmā Karhardoi (Indian Muslim) was the Bakhshi and Waqia' Nawis of the Deccan and Amīn-i Dāgh in 1656, Wāris 249(b) as cited in Apparatus 3., 6631.

holding the rank of Bakhshī and Wāqia' Nawīs of the subas of the Deccan, who has the confidence of that dignitary for collecting the amount in question both in cash and kind. Advises her to make utmost endeavours in delivering the amount in the form of cash, excellent and precious diamonds and high-breed elephants worthy of His Majesty. Since the elephants have not been sent from Bījapur to the Imperial Court these should be sent through him (Qāzī Nizāmā) who should also be permitted to leave for the Court immediately.

4. Letters to Qutbul Mulk

4.1 Peshkash from Qutbul Mulk, etc. (1653, pp. 263-4):

The Emperor has entrusted the affairs of the Deccan to the writer (Aurangzeb) who has reached Burhānpur. Acknowledges the receipt of his 'arzdāsht regarding the payment of peshkash through Mulla Ruhullah.¹ Informs him of the appointment of Mir 'Abdul Latīf as hājib (at Golconda) and the despatch of some costly clothes to the addressee.

4.2 Peshkash from Qutbul Mulk (1653, pp. 267-69):

Informs him that Mir 'Abdul Latīf has reported that so far Qutbul Mulk has not paid the arrears of the tribute due to

1. Mulla Ruhullah not identified.

the Khālisa Sharīfa for which strict Imperial injunctions had been issued to the Mīr; he has delayed payment. It is strange that despite his expressions of loyalty Qutbul Mulk should have allowed matters to take such a course. Qutbul Mulk is advised, now that Aurangzeb himself is in the Deccan to make especial effort that the arrears of peshkash should reach the Imperial Court through Muhammad Ibrahim,¹ Aurangzeb's official who has been deputed there for the realization of the amount and the annual peshkash should also be paid without any delay. Now Imperial orders have come that henceforward of 8 lakh rupees which Qutbul Mulk pays per annum should be in male and female elephants to the value of one-half.² If the cash payment was not possible in one transaction, he should remit it in regular instalments within each year; and if he finds even this difficult he should separate some parganas, yielding the amount, from his territory adjacent to the frontiers of the Imperial dominions, attach it to the Khālisa Sharīfa so that the Imperial 'āmils could realise it year to year. No further delay in the matter is to be permitted.

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1. Muhammad Ibrāhīm Asad Khān s/o Asālat Khān (Irāni) (1000/600) was the dārogha-i Peshkash in 1653, Wāriṣ 180(b) as cited in Apparatus 3., 5966.
 2. This order of Shahjahan had far reaching financial implications because Aurangzeb was deprived from a considerable source of income required for administering Deccan.

4.3 Peshkash from Qutbul Mulk and Supply of Chhaint (1653, p. 275):

Informs him that now-a-days Muhammad Nasir,¹ an important official of Aurangzeb and one of the Imperial officers has been despatched to remain at the Port of Machhlipattan² for purchasing elephants and procuring pieces of painted chintz. Of the entire Imperial peshkash one lakh rupees have been assigned to him for acquiring the items requisitioned by His Majesty. Orders him to release the amount immediately to him after his arrival at Hyderabad as it would be debited according to the receipt of the said official. Directs him to instruct the mutasaddis of the said Port to help him in the best possible manner and treat him courteously. The possessors of the elephants and the manufacturers of chintz, who could supply the items wanted, should contact him and not show any negligence in the matter. In accordance with Aurangzeb's direction, Qutbul Mulk should let him leave (Hyderabad) so that he could proceed to his destination (Masulipatam) in order to fulfil the assigned duties. In return Qutbul Mulk could win Aurangzeb's favour.

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1. Port Machhlipatan or Machhli Bandar, (mod. Masulipatam) in sarkar Machhlipatan suba Hyderabad, Atlas, 15A, B.
 2. Muhammad Nasir s/o Baqir Khan (Irani) held the rank of 500/100 in 1656, Waris, 271(a) as cited in Apparatus 3., 7150.

4.4 Difference in the Exchange Rate of hun of Qutbul Mulk's Peshkash (1654, pp. 276-8):

It was reported to His Majesty that previously the rate of hun in Golconda was Rs 4½ while it is Rs5/- now-a-days. Imperial orders were issued to Murshid Quli Khān directing him that in place of two lakh huns of the annual stipulated peshkash from Qutbul Mulk he should realise nine lakh rupees for the year during which the rate of Rs4½ and ten lakh rupees be collected now as the current rate is Rs. 5/- and the realization be made accordingly.

Accordingly, Aurangzeb also issues orders that when the huns were fixed upon Qutbul Mulk, His Majesty had remitted two lakh huns out of four lakh huns which Qutbul Mulk used to remit the Nizāmshāhis (be-Nizām) every year and the balance was imposed upon him. Directs him that out of sincere loyalty he should remit the arrears of amount of rupees according to the rate of hun, to the Imperial treasury so that his sincerity could be established beyond doubt. Warns him that he has been indifferent, and yet His Majesty has ignored this lapse. But he should instruct his mutasaddis that the difference of previous years as would be known to him from the communication of Murshid Quli Khān, be deposited in rupees in the Imperial treasury. If, however, cash payment proves difficult, he should remit the difference in the form of elephants according to **changing** prices; from the current year the huns of peshkash be re-

mitted according to the hun rate current in Golconda. In accordance with the settlement previously made he should remit half of it in rupees and in lieu of the remaining half he was to send the elephants.

Inform him that Mir ('Askarī,¹ a trusted Imperial official is being sent to the Prince (Shujā')² in Bengal. He has been asked to take this nishān. Qutbul Mulk should immediately allow him to proceed and instruct his faujdār and the gumāshtas on the way to make him happy with **their** considerate behaviour and give him all help.

4.5 Peshkash from Qutbul Mulk (1655, pp. 305-7):

The Prince says that in regard to the payment of arrears of peshkash, in which regard unfulfilled promises have exceeded all limits, if the matter was in Prince's own hands and laxity in it would not have brought Imperial censure on him, he would not press the demand so hard on Qutbul Mulk and would have allowed him further time.

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1. Mir 'Askarī s/o Jāfar Beg Asaf Khān (Irāni) (500/60) was the Bakhshī and Wāqia' Nawīs of Bengal in 1654, Wāriṣ 202(a) as cited in Apparatus S., 6157.
 2. Prince Shujā' (20,000 / 15,000 (2 x 3 h)) was the Sūbedar of Bengal from 1647 to 1657, Wāriṣ 25(b) as cited in Apparatus S., 4332, Salih III, 447.

However, Imperial orders have been repeatedly issued that the said amount should be deposited immediately in the Imperial treasury. If Qutbul Mulk shows any inclination towards delay or evasion, the whole should immediately be realised by force. Accordingly Mīr Aḥmad¹ has been appointed to realise the arrears of peshkash, so that once again Qutbul Mulk's breach of promise be not reported to the Court, bringing on his head the Imperial wrath.

If despite his ability to pay he does not deem it suitable to make payment and the capacity (pukhtgīnā of his mutasaddis is not up to paying the amount and obtaining receipt thereof, then he should assign till the realization of the arrears a portion of his kingdom to the Imperial officials to obtain the arrears out of revenues of this territory. Otherwise out of 25 lakh rupees that are due to be paid by him according to his own account, less the amount sent through Muhammad Ahmad Beg, 20 lakh rupees should be delivered whatever happens to Mīr (Aḥmad) within one or two months and send him to Aurangzeb's headquarters. The remaining five lakh rupees should be paid along with next year's peshkash. He should not create unnecessary diffi-

1. Mīr Aḥmad Khwāfi (Irāni) (700/250) was the Qilādār of Zafar Nāgar in 1656-7, wāris 248(a), 268(a) as cited in Apparatus 3., 6609, 3., 7025.

culties in this matter necessitating the despatch of the Imperial armies whereafter there will be no room for relief or pardon.

4.6 Peshkash From Qutbul Mulk (1656, p. 308):

Acknowledges receipt of his letter. Informs him that as the stipulated period for the payment of the arrears of peshkash to His Majesty which had been reported to His Majesty has passed, and there is no room for delay. The recommendation for extension in the period of payment of 20 lakh rupees previously was just an act of favour. No further attempt for securing extension should be made. Directs him to remit the stipulated peshkash within two months from the receipt of this letter to Mīr Aḥmad Khwāfi.

4.7 Manshūr¹ issued (by Aurangzeb) Following the Conquest of Hyderabad (1656, pp. 281-3):

Notes that in accordance with the decrees of the Imperial farrmān, he (Qutbul Mulk) having repented of his misdeeds solicited forgiveness by sending his mother, renewed agreements and sworn by the Holy Qurān in the presence of Muḥammad Ṭāhir and Shaikh Nizāmā, the royal officials and after verifying the agreements under his seal and signatures delivered them to the wakīls of the Prince.

1. For details see, Ṣāliḥ, III, 227-9, Wāriṣ (Aligarh transcript), 343.

Accordingly his shortcomings have been pardoned and his kingdom has been left intact. If he remains firm in his loyalty he would receive Imperial help and if any one oppresses him the royal armies would punish the guilty and make good his loss. The presents and valuables sent by him to the Court would be adjusted against the peshkash annually due from him.

Assures him that the 'ahdnāma', bearing the royal signatures and palm impression at his request, is unalterable; and he should act according to it.

Qutbul Mulk (1656, p. 284):

- 4.8 Peshkash from Qutbul Mulk's mother has represented to Aurangzeb seeking abatement in the peshkash. Thereupon out of five lakh huns which she promised to pay within three years, one lakh huns have been remitted at her request and another one lakh have been remitted in response to the entreaty of his bride (daughter-in-law). Assures him that if the position of the peshkash was not referred to His Majesty, this would cause no harm in these days of their realising peace and contentment. Impresses upon him the significance of keeping to the agreement and if not acting in any way without the support and guidance of Aurangzeb himself. (Qutb Shāh married her daughter to Prince Muḥammad Sulṭān for establishing matrimonial alliance in order to protect his kingdom which was approved by Shahjahan as well due to his disliking for Prince Sultan's marriage with the daughter of Prince Shuja).

4.9 Payment of Qutbul Mulk's Peshkash (1656, pp. 288-9):

Informs him of the perusal of his representation regarding the abatement of the newly levied annual peshkash. Though the current revenues (hāl-i hāsil) of the territory of Rāmgār¹ (Rāmgīr) does not exceed one lakh huns his request has been acceded to. It is, however, strange that before a response to his representation could be sent to him, Qutbul Mulk has sent a similar plea to the Imperial Court as well.

Following his petition he has written to Allah Tardi Beg,² holding charge of (Rāmgīr) on Aurangzeb's behalf that the peasantry (ri'āyā) and revenue farmers (ijāradārān) of (Qutbul Mulk's) territory adjoining Rāmgīr should not be enticed over to Rāmgīr, and that he should desist from establishing a new peth (mart) which may ruin the older peth, and avoid taking any action which should disturb the affairs of the adjoining parganas, considering that territory too at par with that attached to Aurangzeb's and not permit any deviation from the old norms. The reply to the representation in the matter of four lakh huns and village Marchala³ would be found in the contents of the orders which will be issued to Qabad Beg.⁴

1. Rāmgīr was ceded in 1656 by the Qutb Shāh, to be made into a sarkār of the sūba of Berār, Shāfiq, 153, Thākūr Lāl, f.89.
2. Allah Tardi Beg not identified.
- 3&4. Qabad Beg Uzbek (Turani (2500/1500) was raised to (4000/4000) in 1657, Šālih III, 456.

- 4.10 Realization of one Crore Rupees of Peshkash from Qutbul Mulk (1656, p. 331):

States that his representation has been received at the Imperial Court. This relates to the accounts that Imperial officials have sent to Murshid Quli Khan, the Dīwān of the Suba of the Deccan, a copy whereof has also been sent to Qutbul Mulk through Aurangzeb's official Qabād Beg, a royal official and a petition for suspending the realization of fifteen lakh rupees already remitted by His Majesty.

Since the Imperial injunctions have been issued for realising one crore rupees there is no other motive behind the appointment of Mīr Ahmad but this. The amount in question is the balance of twentyfive lakh rupees which was to be paid within three years and without Imperial orders this can not be excluded from the demand of one crore of rupees.

- 4.11 Hājib at Golconda (1656, p. 290):

Informs him that whereas Qabad Beg did not perform the duties of hijābat properly and failed to carry out the orders issued to him punctileously, owing to which the implementation of many orders was delayed, so that many matters did not proceed as smoothly as they ought, accordingly he has been dismissed and recalled and he has appointed Ahmad Beg Najm Ṣānī,¹ an old official of his so that he would

1. Ahmad Beg Najm Ṣānī s/l Bāqir Khān Najm Ṣānī (Irānī) (800/350) was promoted to 800/400 in 1657, Ṣālīḥ III, 473.

act according to what is ordered and keep Qutbul Mulk pleased with his conduct and report to Aurangzeb all circumstances relating to Qutbul Mulk and to financial matters. Sends a weapon as gift to Qutbul Mulk through the new appointee.

4.12 Appointment of a new Imperial Hājib at Golconda (1656, pp. 317-8):

Since the former hājibs used to exert unpleasant pressure for realizing the Imperial financial demands, such was contrary to the royal wish. Accordingly 'Abdul M'abūd Khān¹ who during his previous term as hājib was on good terms with him (Qutbul Mulk) has been appointed to the post. The manner in which a crore of rupees have been remitted out of the peshkash will be explained by the new hājib. The remainder with the arrears of the regular peshkash should be paid, according to the old rules, to the Imperial treasury at Daulatābād, and all efforts should be made to meet all requirements of the Imperial Government.

4.13 Peshkash from Qutbul Mulk (1656, p. 334):

Aurangzeb has made the observations that had the matter of the realization of peshkash been in Aurangzeb's own hands, he would not have delayed remissions in it upon his (Qutbul

1. Mīr 'Abdul Mēbūd gr/s of Mīr Kamāluddīn. He also served as Bakhshī and Wāqia-Nigār. He held the rank of 1000 zāt, J.N. Sarkar, Life of Mir Jumla, 154; Zakhira, III, 79; Y.H. Khan, Selected Waqāi' of the Deccan, 68.

Mulk's) pleas. Thus Aurangzeb had remitted out of 25 lakh rupees to Qutbul Mulk's mother and similarly remitted four and two lakh rupees worth of household goods, worth ten lakh rupees, though this was not properly within the scope of his authority. His Majesty has remitted 15 lakh rupees to him, leaving a balance of 25 lakh rupees, which is to be paid within a period of three years. His Majesty has not remitted 3 lakh rupees on account of the value of offerings sent through Mullā 'Abdus Ṣamad¹ and accounted it as in lieu of dowry (for Qutbul Mulk's daughter). This has been recorded in the Imperial order (manshūr); what can be done in the matter? The only way it can be remedied is if Qutbul Mulk writes what he has written to Aurangzeb in a petition submitted in response to the farmān also writes to Jahān Ārā Begum and the elder Prince (Dārā Shikoh)² so that his petition could be submitted (through) them to His Majesty.

5. Letter to 'Alī 'Ādil Khān.³

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1. Mulla 'Abdul Ṣamad, Dabiru'l Mulk, envoy of Qutb Shāh at the Mughal Court, H.K. Sherwani, History of the Qutbshahi Dynasty, 453.
 2. Prince Muhammad Dārā Shikoh (60,000/40,000) (3-2h) was the Sūbedār of Lahore and Multān till 1658, Ṣālih III, 270, 446.
 3. 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh II was the ruler of Bījāpur (1657-72).

5.1 Terms of the Treaty with Bījāpur (1657, pp. 765-6):

It has been decided by Aurangzeb that the fort of Parenda¹ along with the territory of Karnātak² which had been previously granted to 'Ādil Khān, excluding the forts and mahāls, which with Mīr Jumla's transfer of allegiance came into Aurangzeb's Khālīṣa, should be left to in control of 'Ali 'Ādil Khān's gumāshtas, and of the total one crore rupees, seventy lakhs cash and kind is accepted while the remaining thirty are remitted to him ('Ali 'Ādil Khān) ... He should now administer that territory and improve the affairs of the area and forcibly push out the accursed Shiva³ who has captured some of the forts of Konkan.⁴ If, however, he wants to take that accursed person in his service, he should assign his jāgīr in Karnātak so that he should remain away from the Imperial dominions and not raise any disturbance there. He should also send the re-

1. Pargana and Sarkār Parenda Sūba Aurangābād. Parenda had originally belonged to the Nizāmshāhi Kingdom, but was seized by the 'Ādil Shāh, who was allowed to keep it together with the parganas attached to it, by terms of the 1636 settlement (Lāhori, I, 11, 33, 169). Although the 'Ādil Shāh was compelled to cede Parenda to the Mughals in 1657 (Jālih, III, 262), yet it was actually occupied by the Mughals in 1660, Ālamgīrnāma, 596-8.
2. Karnātak of Bījāpur was known as Sarkār Sīra. For details see Atlas, 64.
3. Shiva or Shivaji was the well-known Maratha leader. See J.N. Sarkar, Shivaji and His Times, Calcutta 1952; House of Shivaji, Calcutta, 1955.
4. The Sarkār of Talkokan forming the so-called Talkokan-i Nizāmul Mulki was left in the possession of the 'Ādil Shāh of Bījāpur by the treaty of 1636, Lāhori, III, 169.

duced amount of peshkash in cash and kind. He should protect the territory of Kamātak belonging to Aurangzeb from degradations by the zamindārs of that region. Tells him that if the pleas of Jāhū Bhonsla¹ and the sons of Bahlol² and other servants and officials of 'Ādil Khān for entering Aurangzeb's service are not accepted (on such conditions as put forward by them), 'Ādil Khān should also not grant them the favour of aid and assistance.

6. Letters to Sa'd Ullah Khān.

6.1 Recommendations for the Jāgīr of Narsing Dās, Qila'dār of Asīr (1653, p. 459):

Informs him that Narsingh Das, castellan (qila'dār) of Asīr is an efficient Imperial servant who maintains the required contingent while fulfilling Imperial duties (khidmat-i bād-shāhī). Since the jāgīrs he had been holding in his home territory (watan) have been transferred and the state of income from the jāgīrs of the Deccan is not unknown, his (Narsingh Dās') wakīl at the Court is making endeavours that pargana of Rawat³ which is his hereditary watan be

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1. Jāhū Bhonsla or Shahuji Bhonsla was the father of Shivaji.
 2. Bahlol was an official of the 'Ādil Shāh.
 3. Pargana Rawat or Rohat, Sarkār Jodhpur, Sūba Ajmer, cf. Atlas, 6A.

assigned to him in entirety in lieu of the mahāl transferred from Hindustan and the mahāl assigned in the Deccan in his jāgīr in order to relieve him from distress. Is sure that the addressee shall help in the matter, to the extent possible.

6.2 Recommendations for Mughal Khān (1653, p. 462):

Informs him that now it has been learnt from the 'arzdāsht of Mughal Khān¹ that his jāgīr was transferred due to his failure in joining the Qandahar² expedition. He is in greatly distressed circumstances. Keeping in view his sincerity and loyalty, Aurangzeb has asked his wakīl at the Court that, should he (Mughal Khān) be willing the Imperial Court be approached to have him posted in the Deccan, so that he may be relieved of the shame (of his present position). Recommends that Sa'dullah Khān may give Mughal Khān the necessary help in the matter.

6.3 Supply of Thread to the Imperial Kārkhāna (1653, pp.463-64):

Acknowledges Sa'dullah Khān's letter sent in compliance with the Imperial orders stating that Mīr Naṣīr, darogha of Kār-

1. Mughal Khān s/o Zain Khān held the rank of 3000/2000 in 1653.

2. Sarkār Qandahar in Suba Kābul. See Atlas, 2A-B.

khāna of Burhānpur had represented to the Court that Aurangzeb's officials had obstructed the supply (saranjām) of yarn, etc., to the said kārkhāna. The Emperor had observed that should this statement be true, it was most improper, and should be immediately rectified in such a manner that there was no repetition.

The addressee is aware that the dārogha's complaint could not be true. If it had been decided at the Imperial Court that whosoever writes or says anything about Aurangzeb's officials should be given credit and an explanation be required of Aurangzeb, then there is no point in Aurangzeb's saying or writing anything. Anyhow since the first class of yarn (sūt) is found in the qasba of Dhārangāon,¹ so long as that qasba remains in Aurangzeb's jāgīr such complaints are not going to end. The dārogha of the kārkhana who has found that his allegations have been entertained at the Imperial Court will not desist from this course and will always go on raising the matter of yarn to turn His Majesty's mind against Aurangzeb. Asks Ja'dullah Khān to represent to His Majesty that the said qasba be taken in the Khālisa Sharīfa, so that Aurangzeb may surrender it to the Dīwān of Pāyān Ghāt and obtain jāgīr elsewhere in lieu of the same so that the supplies for the kārkhāna could be obtained according to

1. Pargana Dhārangāon, Sarkār Asīr, Sūba Khāndesh, Atlas, 9A, 14A.

the dārogha's wishes and his lies and allegations cease. If His Majesty so wishes Aurangzeb is even willing that his own kārkhāna which has been established only for purpose of supplying per chance an article that His Majesty may approve will be closed.

6.4 Recommendations for Murshid Quli Khān (1653, pp. 466-7):

Refers to the excellent services rendered by Murshid Quli Khān. When he was posted at the Court he held the manṣab of 1000/400 and his jāgīr in Hindustān was not less than 10-monthly. Now that he holds the Dīwānī of Bālāghāt and his rank is 1500/500 his jāgīr in the Deccan after deducting expenses on account of sih bandi does not exceed 5-monthly. Every year he thus requires more than he can realise, so as to balance income and expenditure. And yet according to new schedule he has to maintain contingent larger by 70% than previously. Moreover some amount is spent on discharging duties of such a high post (as that of Dīwān of Bālāghāt). Recommends that his case be represented to His Majesty by Sa'dullah Khān, for he deserves consideration and favour.

6.5 Disturbance of Pratāp Girāssiya (1653, pp. 473-4):

Acknowledges the receipt of his 'arzdāsht on 18 Zilq'ada in response to Aurangzeb's nishān. Reports of the degradations

of Pratāp Girāssiya of tappa Sindkhera¹ have been conveyed to His Majesty from the waqā'i of this sūba. The addressee is informed that this happened during the term of assignment of Sazāwār Khān, the jāgīrdār of Sultānpur and Nandurbār. Explanation was asked of Sazāwār Khān. He reported that one night two or three carts reached village Dādāl Saidāna,² several of the robbers came to plunder them. The watchmen (chaukidārs) were alerted, and grappled with them, injuring some of them. Two of them also received wounds; however, they did not allow them to plunder anything. Since the night was dark, the robbers were able to run away into the jungle. He (Sazāwār Khān) was transferred. As a further precaution Raushan Beg Khwāfi,³ an official of Aurangzeb, who was the faujdār of those parganas was ordered to punish Pratāp and capture the culprits who had committed this act. After much search he killed Surjan, brother of Pratāp's wife and five other Rājputs and captured his mother, with her slaves — she being his main adviser. Since Pratāp had run away into distant hills and forests his chastisement was deferred to some other time.

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1. Tappa Sindkheda in Sarkār Asīr Sūba Berār, cf. Atlas, 14A.
 2. Village Dādāl Saidana in Sarkār Asīr, Atlas, 9A, 14A.
 3. Raushan Beg Khwāfi not identified

Now it has been reported by Muḥammad Tāhir that he (Pratap) is repentent of his misdeeds and wants to surrender. If he comes his life will be spared, otherwise he will be destroyed. Hopes that he will report the matter in detail to His Majesty.

6.6 Recommendations for Naṣīrī Khān (1653, pp. 474-5):

Refers to the efficiency of Saiyid Nasiri Khān and his sincerity towards Sa'dullah Khān. Due to his continuous employment in campaigns in Qandahār, his circumstance are adversely affected, and, furthermore, he has no confidence in the Commander of the Army (Dārā Shikoh). He therefore wants a transfer to this sūba against any post. This will also be crystal clear from Naṣīrī Khān's¹ own letter to the addressee. Suggests his posting as commandant of a fort. Hopes that Sa'dullah Khān would pursue the matter in favour of Naṣīrī Khān in such a way that it does not displease His Majesty or is treated by him as indicative of intrigue.

6.7 Aurangzeb's Jāgirs (1654, p. 461):

Refers to his (Aurangzeb's) representation to the Court in response to the manshūr granting ten crore dāms against his entire cash salary from the treasury of Sūba Mālwa.

1. Saiyid Naṣīrī Khān (Indian M.) (3000/2000, Ṣālih, III, 454, Mamūri, 98a.

6.8 Problems of Aurangzeb's Jāgīrs (1654, p. 471):

Informs Sa'dullah Khān that since the clerks of the Imperial offices have shown a large amount as mutālība (Government claims) outstanding against Aurangzeb, they keep speaking of it all the time and have suspended the payment of his salary claim (talab). In order to resolve this matter Aurangzeb has deputed Madsūdan¹ an Imperial official so that he should call on the addressee and along with the Imperial clerks, examine and fix amount of Imperial claims against Aurangzeb and his pay-claims. Is sure that the addressee will attend to this and instruct the clerks to immediately examine and settle the matter and after deducting the Imperial claims from the amount of Aurangzeb's pay-claim, send the draft of pay of the balance to the dīwāns of the sūba of the Deccan so that the amount could be realized accordingly. Hopes that effort will be made in the matter.

6.9 Recommendations for Ilhāmullah Khān (1656, pp. 469-70):

Informs him that since Asadullah son of Rashid Khān has died² and his brother Ilhāmullah holding the command of

1. Madsūdan Dās was the karori of the qasba of Phultana, Wari and Kehnta in 1644, SSR, 121.

2. He died during the siege of Golconda in 1656, Najib Ashraf, Muqaddama, 299. History of Aurangzeb, Vol. I, 132.

forts of Chandur, etc., and the stores and work of repairs of those forts also entrusted to him. He is an efficient Imperial official. He has been reassuring the contingent of Asadullah who had been the old retainers of his father and is anxious that they should not get dispersed. Accordingly, if his case is properly placed before His Majesty so that he receives an additional (mansab), he could keep his brother's contingents and save it from being disbanded. Since pargana Mihrābād¹ was in the assignment of the late Rashid Khān for a long period, and after his death remained in the charge of Asadullah and Ilhāmullah now it is possible that the share of Asadullah in that pargana may be assigned to some one else. But the pargana, which is under crop-sharing (jinsi), is not suitable for being held in partnership. If he considers it proper, Sa'dullah Khān may endeavour to keep the pargana in entirety in the jāgīr of Ilhāmullah and the sons of Asadullah. Hopes that the matters would be settled favourably due to addressee's efforts.

6.10 Recommendations for the release of the Zamīndār of Dhandhera (1656, pp. 467-8):

Acknowledges the receipt of Sa'dullah Khān's letter (hasbul hukm) regarding Inderman, Zamīndār of Dhandhera. Acknowledges the truth of His Majesty's observations. However

1. Pargana Mihrābād not identified.

owing to 20 year long internment he has become extremely poor. He has agreed to offer Rs.50,000 as peshkash trusting to Brahmans and the mahājans. If he embraces Islam, he would have to **renounce** his religion, and then how would he arrange to pay the amount of peshkash. On the other hand once he attests, on the security of one of the trusted that since his native country has been lost by him for a long time, and passing into the hands of the Imperial officials has been assigned to them in watan he will never go back there and, if posted to the Deccan as an officer, he would always be present here. How then would he return to his country? If his release is not made contingent on his embracing Islam then he will easily arrange for the zāmin and the payment of the amount of peshkash otherwise he will remain in prison throughout his life. Asks him to represent his case appropriately to the Emperor. Whatever is ordered will be carried out.

6.11 Peshkash from Qutbul Mulk, etc., (1656, pp. 477-8):

Informs him of the arrival at Hyderabad of Khvajgi Muḥammad Sa'id¹ and Shaikh Mahmūd,² with two farmāns one addressed

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1. Khwājgi Muḥammad Sa'id not identified.
 2. Shaikh Mahmud not identified.

to Mīr Muḥammad Sa'id Mīr Jumla and the other to Qāzi 'Ārif.¹ Inform him that after the arrival of Mīr Jumla, who is on his way, Aurangzeb would act according to the Imperial orders and by sparing the life of Qutbul Mulk and restoring the conquered territory of Golconda to him afresh, Aurangzeb would extract enormous peshkash in treasure, diamonds and elephants. The affairs of the Kingdom of Karnataka containing several diamond mines and ports which is still controlled by the agents of Mīr Jumla which has been annexed to the Imperial dominions would be settled according to the possibilities of the actual situation.

7. Letter to Ja'far Khan²

7.1 Appointments of two Officials (1655, p. 572):

Acknowledges the receipt of two letters from him, the first about the tankhwāh-jāgīr of Malik Husain,³ assigned from Kharif Ichī Il, in the Sūba of the Deccan and the second com-

1. Qāzi 'Ārif Kashmiri (Ind. M.) held the rank of (4000/2000) in 1656, Wāris 217(a) as cited in Apparatus S., 6331.
2. Ja'far Khan (Irani) (5000/5000 (2000x2-3h) was the Sūbedār of Bihar. Wāris, 239(a) as cited in Apparatus, S., 6433.
3. Malik Husain (700/100) was appointed the faujdār of Hoshingabad in 1655, Wāris, 178(b), 247(a) as cited in Apparatus S., 5955, S., 6495.

mending Mir Ja'far,¹ appointed by His Majesty as the Bakhshī and Wāqī'a Nawīs of this sūba. The jāgīr of Malik Husain will be assigned from the date prescribed by Imperial orders within the territory of this country (wilāyat). Mir Ja'far being a kinsman of Ja'far Khān's kinsman, will receive due favour.

8. Letters to Shaista Khān

8.1 Realization of Mutālaba and Taqāvi, (July-August, 1652, pp. 480-81):

Acknowledges the receipt of Shāista Khān's 'arzdāsht (in reply to Aurangzeb's nishān) received by Aurangzeb during the time Aurangzeb was engaged in besieging Qandahār, (Shāista Khān was then Viceroy of the Deccan, to which Aurangzeb had now been appointed). As requested, a nishān was sent to Aurangzeb's wakīl at the Imperial Court requiring him to procure a farmān for officials of that sūba (Deccan), regarding Rs.30,000 mutālaba outstanding against the Zamīndār of Chānda. Is sure that after the receipt of the Imperial farmān, he will remit the amount in question without any excuse.

1. Mir Ja'far Astrabadi (Irāni) (1000/200) was appointed Bakhshī and Wāqī'a Nawīs of the Deccan in 1655, Wāriṣ, 229(b) as cited in Apparatus 3., 6406.

The statement of Imperial claims (mutālābat) against the nobles posted in the Deccan was received at the camp, and he (the Zamīndār of Chānda) reports that the mutasaddīs of that place (Deccan), have settled the claims against him in lumpsum. It is better Shāista Khān should summon the paper prepared by the said mutasaddi, verify its correctness and decide accordingly. If he (the Zamīndār of Chānda) does not produce a reliable sanad, the requisite amount should be recovered according to the papers of mutālāba received under the seal of the dīwāns.

In regard to the taqāvi outstanding against the peasantry it is hereby ordered that since the deshmukhs and patels who after obtaining the taqāvi on their own surety from the Government have distributed it among the smaller peasantry (reza ri'āyā) and executed bond (ta'ahud) for its repayment; the amount due from the peasants who have either died or run away should be realized from them. As for those (peasants) who are alive and in occupation (of land), but are unable to pay at once, it should be realized in instalments from them. If some who are unable to make the payment due to extreme indigence and troubled circumstances, information of their actual circumstances should be obtained. They should not be troubled for repayment, for we have remitted the portion (of taqāvi) due from them.

8.2 Aurangzeb's Jāgīrs (October-November 1652, p. 482):

Acknowledges the receipt of his 'arzdāsht perused here on 29 Shawwāl. This conveyed account of his efforts in realizing the Imperial claims (mutālabāt). Shāista Khan had stated that now that the sūbas of the Deccan have been given over to Aurangzeb's charge, the entire claims will be more easily realised. Informs him that Aurangzeb considered Shāista Khan's being there the same as his own charge. However, since His Majesty, after Aurangzeb's return from Qandahār and arrival at the Court assigned those sūbas to him out of simple kindness and without any indication of desire or request from Aurangzeb, he had considered it obligatory to accept the assignment. Muḥammad Tāhir, (Aurangzeb's official) who left the Court on 19 Ramazān would reach Burhānpur towards the middle of Zilq'ada. Is confident that till that period Shāista Khān would look after the administration with ever greater attention.

8.3 Realization of Mutālaba of Aurangzeb (1653, p. 485):

Informs him that out of over Rs. 37,000 the mutālaba (claims) of Aurangzeb upon 'Umar Tarīn, over Rs. 25,000 are still due. He promises to remit the same within two years and has delivered an acknowledgement into the office (of the dīwān) a copy of which is enclosed with

this nishān. Accordingly an official (of Aurangzeb) has been sent to realise the amount of the mutālaba from him. Hopes that Shāista Khān will try to his best that there should be no delay in realisation and Aurangzeb's official should be able to return after expeditiously accomplishing the task.

8.4 Aurangzeb's Request for Cash Salary (1654, p. 494):

The frequent offerings of presents (peshkash), which are mere ceremonial acts, are not necessary. Asks him to be active in arranging remittance of Aurangzeb's cash salary (naqdi), as previously written to him.

8.5 Aurangzeb's Refusal to Accept the Charge of Forts (1655, p. 506):

In the Imperial manshūr written by His Majesty himself and sent through Mir J'afar ordering him the increase of 5000 (2x3h),¹ it has also been stated of the forts of the Deccan, ten forts such as Ahmadnagar, etc., be assigned to Aurangzeb's charge, and his officials should take them over. Shāista Khān cannot be unaware of the far-reaching

1. Aurangzeb received this promotion in rank in 1655, Wāris, 239(a) as cited in Apparatus 3., 6430.

implications of this proposal, for in case of acceptance the benefits of increase of rank will not only be nullified but beyond those further large amounts would have to be spent. He, therefore, could not agree to take up the charge of these forts and petitioned to His Majesty to be excused.

8.6 Qutbul Mulk's Offer~~s~~ of Peshkash and Matrimonial Alliance etc., (1656, p. 499):

From the report of Muḥammad Tāhir it is learnt that Prince Muḥammad Sulṭān had marched from Tālāb Ḥusain Sāgar and entered the city and took precautionary measures to save the inhabitants of the city from the ravages of the Imperial armies. He has well brought under control such a large and prosperous city. Qutbul Mulk sent his peshwā (chief minister) with a peshkash to the Prince. It has been reported that Qutbul Mulk promises to pay a peshkash of 40 lakh rupees, marry his daughter to the Prince and pay annually the stipulated Imperial tribute (peshkash) to the royal officials. He also promises to return the entire property of Mīr Jumla which he had confiscated after the imprisonment of his son, and to summon Mir and hand him over to the Prince. Having seen the decline of his kingdom by his own eyes, Qutbul Mulk is greatly distressed and distraught.

8.7 Assignments of the Forts of Asīr and Junnar to Aurangzeb (1656, pp. 504-5):

Since Aurangzeb is greatly concerned about an investigation into the jewels obtained by Aurangzeb from Quṭbul Mulk and expresses his anger on account of this, Aurangzeb deeming any delay to be improper, has sent all those jewels to the Imperial Court, whether belonging to him or his son. The fort of Asīr was assigned to Aurangzeb. Since it involved no expenses he thought it imprudent not to refuse it. As for the fort of Junair,¹ an Imperial famān was issued to Hari Deo Singh, qila'dār thereof in regard to the assignment of the fort to Aurangzeb.

8.8 Aurangzeb's Jāgirs in Mālwa, etc. (1656, pp. 506-7):

Acknowledges the receipt of his letter ('arīza) with the letter of the Dīwān regarding Aurangzeb's cash salary together with the account papers. All the items of Quṭbul Mulk's peshkash to Aurangzeb and his son have been despatched to the Imperial Court.

1. The Fort commanding Junnar, (usually spelt Junair in Persian sources) was known as Shivner, spelt 'Sunnair' in Persian sources. Cf. Atlas, 55.

9. Letters to Mir Jumla.

9.1 Dāk Chaukī (1656, pp. 393-4):

Aurangzeb has again written to Qutbul Mulk to maintain the dāk chaukī (postal communication) from Hyderabad to Siddhavat.¹ It has not been interrupted, and there is no possibility of this. The news about interference by jāgīrdārs between Indūr and Burhānpur with (the functioning of) officials of dāk chaukī is untrue. Nevertheless Murshid Quli Khān and his own officer Tāhir have been instructed to issue strict injunctions to the agents of the jāgīrdārs that none should interfere with Mīr Jumla's dāk chaukī.

9.2 Jāgīrs of Murshid Quli Khān (1656, pp. 408-10):

Acknowledges the receipt of his letter ('arīza) written to convey Imperial orders. It has been stated that from the statements (nuskha) sent by Murshid Quli Khān, placed before His Majesty, it has transpired that the income (hāsil) of pargana Bīr was 8-monthly in the 28th regnal year (of Shāhjahān) and would be more in the 29th regnal year. The wakīls of the Prince did not accept the said pargana for Aurangzeb's jāgīr which was assigned for one crore dāms by His Majesty. While not accepting this Aurangzeb has taken possession of the jāgīr of Mālūjī² which does not yield

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1. The haveli (headquarters) Siddavat (mod. Siddhavattam) in sarkār of the same name in Bālāghāt, Sūba Hyderabad. Atlas, 64.
 2. Mālūjī Bhonsla (Marāṭha) held the rank of (5000/5000) in 1656, Wārīs 260(a) as cited in Apparatus S., 6696.

more than 6-monthly. Accordingly the Imperial orders were issued that if the conditions of pargana of Bir are as reported by Murshid Quli Khān then its assignment to Shāh Beg Khān and the choice of a low revenue paying area for oneself by Aurangzeb was not warranted. Otherwise Murshid Quli Khān would seem to have mis-stated the facts. The reasons for declining pargana Bīr should be submitted in detail.

Mīr Jumla is informed that the position of the previous and current revenue of the said pargana will be known in detail from separate sheets. The reason for its non-acceptance is not the desolate or ruined conditions of the pargana. During the course of Golconda expedition Shāh Beg Khān who maintained a large contingent was called from the fort of Ahmadnagar and Multafat Khān was sent there. Shāh Beg Khān represented that since the office of castellan had been taken from him he should be assigned pargana Bīr in lieu of all his scattered and distant jāgīrs so that bringing all his family and servants there, he might join the expedition with full peace of mind. Accordingly Aurangzeb promised to assign that pargana in lieu of 3 crore and 50 lakh dāms to him as will be evident in detail from his salary sheets (afrād-i taujīh). Even after return from the expedition the daul regarding the additional mansab, which also included pargana Bīr had not been re-

ceived from the Court. Its transfer from Shah Beg Khān so soon after its assignment to him was not deemed suitable by Aurangzeb, and the pargana remained with Shāh Beg Khān. This matter has also been communicated to the Imperial Court as will be known by consulting the sheets sent along with Aurangzeb's 'arzdāsht (to the Court).

Since Murshid Quli Khān is an officer of integrity he cannot write contrary to the facts. His commendable efforts and endeavours in administering this country (wilāyat) are beyond appreciation. One would have wished the officers of the diwānī affairs (mubāshirān-i 'amāl-i diwānī) who have previously been in this sūba had done even one percent of what has been done and is being done by Murshid Quli Khān. He is really an efficient official, if he is not unnecessarily censured and he is still more active in his duties, it would be better. Keeping in view the better pursuit of Imperial interest, this much has been written on his behalf. If, however, there were suspicions about the truth, let an Imperial official come from the Court and see his work as compared to that of others. Hopes Mīr Jumla would convey this to His Majesty.

9.3 Position of the Revenues of Rāmgīr: Detached from Golconda (1656, p. 391):

The position of the revenue of Rāigarh is this that its current realised revenue (hāl-i hāsīl) does not exceed

80,000 huns, but Qutbul Mulk told Qabād Beg that Muḥammad Nāṣir has accepted the said sarkār for 1,20,000 huns. Requests him to explain the true facts to His Majesty.

9.4 Recommendations for Ṣāfi Khān to Mīr Jumla (1656, p. 398):

Previously the addressee had been informed by Aurangzeb that Ṣāfi Khān had been punished at the Court though he was innocent and blameless; and Mīr Jumla should therefore be attentive to him, so that such an efficient officer should not suffer needlessly. To date Imperial favours have remained barred to him. He should be appointed to offices other than Bakhshīgiri and Wāq'ia Nawīsī in this province. Mīr Jumla is called upon to take his case with the Emperor so that he may be posted to this province and his mansab restored.

9.5 Imperial **Censure** due to Qutbul Mulk's Peshkash to Aurangzeb (1656, pp. 402-4):

Mir Jumla is aware of the position with regard to the diamonds, horses and elephants sent by Qutbul Mulk to Aurangzeb and given to his son, which have not been deemed a part of the peshkash of 15 lakh rupees due to the Emperor. The gifts consisted of some elephants, horses and some ornamented weapons which have been seen by Mīr Jumla and Khān-i Jahān (Shāista Khān) as well. Since these were not

worthy of presentation to the Emperor, and a diamond offered by the mother of Qutbul Mulk had a dark spot, as also observed by the addressee, and the price of a ruby sent by him does not exceed Rs.4,000, Aurangzeb had again and again returned these presents. Since the price of these items has not been adjusted in the Imperial peshkash, Aurangzeb accepted them on the recommendations of Khān-i Jahan.¹ As these items were not worthy of being reported to the Emperor Aurangzeb did not mention them in his reports to the Emperor. If he had wanted to keep the gifts secret why should he have shown them to the nobles. However, if His Majesty wants that the diamond with the dark spot, which is being cut away by the artisans (kāriḡarān), along with the ruby these would be sent.

Informs him that on the occasion of this expedition, the Imperial farmāns were issued that of the entire peshkash from Qutbul Mulk diamonds and elephants would belong to His Majesty while cash and whatever was seized in booty belong to Aurangzeb. He (Aurangzeb) needed money for supplies and pay of men in this expedition. He relied on the promise in His Majesty's orders and avoided making request for financial assistance (musā'ida) and obtained a large amount from the Princes (Khānazādgān-i 'Ālā Hazrat) by way of loan for the expenses of the expedition and maintenance (saranjām) of his soldiers with a view that

1. Title of Shaista Khan.

out of whatever would be gained by Aurangzeb according to the Emperor's promise (after the successful completion of the expedition) the loan would be returned.

Now the entire peshkash belongs to His Majesty and whatever was received from various sources has been deposited in the treasury at Daulatabad. Aurangzeb finds it difficult to repay the loan and the salaries of the army, which is about 20 lakh rupees. The pay claims of men are six months in arrears and this has led to such distress that they are leaving his service. Since by the Imperial orders they are required in this border province together with Imperial troops posted here, as Mir Jumla must be aware of, from his observations in Hyderabad. He is also aware of the treasure and troops of 'Ādil Khan, who, seeing what has happened to Qutbul Mulk, has become alarmed and is collecting his dispersed troops, being discontented with this side.

Observes that if these 3-4,000 sawārs who **have been** gathered and trained in a long period of years are now dispersed and scattered, then Aurangzeb would be unable to discharge his duties ('uhda-i khidmat-i 'umda-i pād-shāhī) as well as properly control the provinces. Aurangzeb does not know the worldly ways of his contemporaries like some others, so he had not represented the distress of his troops to His Majesty. But when conditions have

worsened to such an extent and experiences has taught that matters are not heard without one's making a representation he wrote to Mir Jumla that he might represent it to His Majesty at a suitable time so that matters may be arranged properly.

9.6 Qutbul Mulk's Peshkash (1656, pp. 406-8):

Before Aurangzeb's departure from Golconda Imperial orders were issued one after another requiring that the gems, studded arms and elephants received in peshkash from Qutbul Mulk together with all gold and silver items be sent by Aurangzeb to the Court before the commencement of the rains and the remainder in cash be deposited in the Imperial treasury. In this matter such insistence was shown as if to suggest that Aurangzeb would not have sent the entire peshkash to the Court or something would disappear from it.

The news of His Majesty's disfavour and censures, dismissal of the intelligencer (Wāqia' Nawīs) and the wrath to which he was subjected has been conveyed to 'Ādil Khān and Qutbul Mulk through missives of harkāras at the Imperial Court becoming a cause of confidence of the enemy and a great distress to Aurangzeb. Out of desperation, implementing the orders Aurangzeb has despatched whatever he had realized for the Emperor as well as what has been brought for him

(from Qutbul Mulk). Nothing better than a diamond and ruby ring, which he and Khān-i Jahān have more than once seen remains.

Since His Majesty is now investigating Aurangzeb's secret acquisitions, if God forbidding, Aurangzeb really such hidden things why should he **have** shown these rings to high Imperial nobles and why should Khān Jahan's gems have been valued ———, those few small stones whose real value is known and others that I have returned, on which so much stress is laid, their value was not deducted from the settled tribute (peshkash) of 15 lakhs of rupees, nor had Aurangzeb reported them in his 'arzdāsht. What else was there to **write**!

9.7 Rebellion of the Zamīndārs of Burhānpur (1656, pp. 445-6):

Informs him of the rebelliousness of the zamīndārs in the vicinity of Burhānpur who, defying authority, are robbing travellers. Aurangzeb has, therefore, decided to depute Prince Muḥammad Sultān, with an strong contingent with Imperial officials and his own officers to chastise them and pacify territory up to River Narbada. Accordingly that Prince has been summoned by Aurangzeb to his presence and Prince Muḥammad Mu'azzam¹ has been deputed there till a

1. Prince Muḥammad Muazzam was the **second** son of Aurangzeb.

a decision is made in the campaign that the Emperor has sanctioned. The latter would be clear to Mīr Jumla from the copies of representations carried by his Agent at the Imperial Court who has just arrived. He should remain in the vicinity of Bīr, where Aurangzeb would soon join him, so that no delay befall the projected campaign against the short-sighted Bijapuris.

10. Letters to Shah Nawaz Khan Safavi.

10.1 Terms of Treaty with Golconda (April 1656, pp. 539-40):

Since Qutbul Mulk humbly solicited pardon by sending his mother, gave his daughter in marriage to Prince Muḥammad Sultān, agreed to offer 25 lakh huns in cash and kind and all his elephants in peshkash, surrendered the fort of Ramgir, originally belonging to sūba Berār, along with territories attached thereto yielding in revenue not less than six lakh rupees to the officials of Aurangzeb, in addition to six lakh rupees per annum to be paid as dowry for his daughter. Mīr Jumla for whom Aurangzeb was waiting joined on 4th of the current with 6000 sawars, 15000 infantry, 150 elephants and excellent artillery (topkhāna). Since the seizure of Qutbul Mulk's kingdom and the conquest of the **fort** of Golconda was not to His Majesty's liking the seige of the fort and the conquest of his kingdom has been given

up and Qutbul Mulk's faults overlooked. Although the enterprise has been successful to an unexpected degree and contributed to the raising of Imperial prestige, and had certain obstructions not been raised, such a large and prosperous kingdom, containing so many mines and ports would have been easily conquered earlier.

10.2 Treaty of Golconda (April 1656, pp. 541-2):

Refers to his (Aurangzeb's) earlier letter about the conclusion of peace and the amount of peshkash imposed on Qutbul Mulk, the engagement of Qutbul Mulk's daughter with Aurangzeb's son, the taking of the fort of Rāmgīr and its dependent territories, and the dowry for the betrothed daughter. Expects that the entire amount of peshkash so far received, in cash, diamonds and elephants, has been sent to His Majesty by Safi Khān, son of late Islām Khān; the remainder would be sent shortly.

11. Letters to I'tiqād Khān.

11.1 Recommendations for Murshid Quli Khān's Jāgīrs (1653, pp. 600-01):

I'tiqād Khān¹ was not unaware of the good behaviour and excellent services of Murshid Quli Khān. He held the rank

1. I'tiqād Khān, Khanazad Khan, Bahman Yar Khan s/o Asaf Khan (Irani) (4000/800) was the Mir Bakhshi in 1653 A.D., Wāriṣ 172(a) as cited in Apparatus 3., 5899

of 1000/4000 (rect. 1000/400) and his jāgirs in the north was not less than 10-monthly. Now he holds the Dīwāni of Bālāghāt territory and his original plus additional rank is 1500/500. His jāgīr in the Deccan after deducting expenses on local levies (sihbandī) does not exceed 5-monthly and he has now to spend much more than he gets in income every year. Moreover, under the new Regulation, he has to maintain a contingent 70% larger than before. In addition, he has to incur full expenses in discharging such an important office (as that of Dīwān). In view of his being an efficient Imperial official it will be appreciated if his circumstances are brought to His Majesty's notice on his behalf.

11.2 Regulations Regarding the Assignment of Jāgīrs (1655, pp. 597-8):

Previously a hasbul hukm issued by Sa'adullah Khān, issued to the officials (mutasaddīs) of the Deccan laid down that whoever of the mansabdārs of that sūba receives an additional mansab or appointed to a mansab for the first time, a jāgīr equivalent to only half of his pay-claim (based on such addition or fresh mansab) should be assigned, and only when he produces a sanad from the Imperial Court should the entire claim be met (by assignment of corresponding jāgīr). The dīwāns have been acting accordingly since then. But because the mansabdārs of that sūba (Deccan)

and

owing to shortfalls in revenue of jagir/distressed circumstances unable to send their wakīls to the Court, and they have repeatedly represented their case before Aurangzeb, and so upon his direction, the matter was recorded in the wāqī'a and so reported to His Majesty. Thereupon His Majesty ordered that the procurement of Imperial sanad is not essential in the matter. The moment the proposal (for addition or fresh grant of mansab) is approved by the Emperor and the diwānī officials of the sūba are informed of it, they should release half of the pay-claim still withheld; and the sanads should be issued locally. However, since Aurangzeb's very appointment to this sūba till date, though the position about additional and fresh grants of mansabs has been recorded in the waqā'i' and Ṣafī Khān, Bakhshī of the sūba, has prepared and sent a complete list to the Imperial Court, no replies have arrived, and the persons concerned are in acute distress. Ṣafī Khān has, therefore, been directed by Aurangzeb to record anew complete details on separate sheets, of officials who have received additional or initial mansabs and send these to Aurangzeb's wakil (at the Court), so that the latter may pass on them to I'tiqād Khān. I'tiqād is requested to scrutinise the record, and put the tenor of the Imperial orders passed upon the sheets of those whose additional and new mansabs have already been placed before His Majesty

through the wāqī'a and so do not need to be placed before His Majesty again, put his seal upon them and deliver them to Aurangzeb's wakil, so that he may send them to Aurangzeb immediately. In regard to others, their cases should be put by I'tiqad Khān before His Majesty, and he should similarly record His Majesty's orders on their sheets and affix his seal thereon, handing them over to Aurangzeb's wakil so that these should serve as authentic certification for the officials of this sūba. Aurangzeb has ordered that henceforth the proposals shall be sent similarly month by month to that Bakhshiul Mamālik, so that he may place them before His Majesty, and affixing his confirmation (tasdīq) of Imperial orders thereon, he may hand them over to Aurangzeb's wakil. Hopes for effort in this direction so that the army may obtain relief.

11.3 Recommendations for Naṣrullah (1655, p. 604):

Since Naṣrullah,¹ son of Ḥasan, who was recommended an enhancement of 150/10 has due to his affinity with him, always remained with Sazāwār Khān, and has been recorded in the official papers as the designated son of Sazāwār Khān his father not being mentioned.

1. Naṣrullah s/o Ḥasan (300/50) was the designated son of Sazāwār Khān, Hyderabad 131, 4208, as cited in Aparatus 3., 2504, 3., 6499.

Due to this reason, when the yāddāsht (memorandum) for enhancement was presented to His Majesty, the Emperor observed that a slave designated as a son did not mean a mansab. Aurangzeb therefore writes that Naṣrullah is a capable youth who had well performed the duties of amīn of pargana Pāthri¹ and then been assigned the charge of Barsar (Basar)² fort attached to **Sunnair**. His father is an Imperial official and so also his elder brother. Asks him, therefore, to submit the facts as recorded here to the Emperor for favour of restoration of his original and additional rank.

11.4 Recommendations for Faṭḥ and Other Officials (1656, pp. 604 - 5):

Acknowledges the receipt of his 'arzdāsht' sent in response to Aurangzeb's nishān. Notes the contents of Imperial orders issued in respect of the enhancement of the rank of Faṭḥ son of Zakariyā and his brother Ḥayāt.³ It is sur-

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1. Pargana Pāthri in sarkār of the same name in sūba Berār, Atlas, 14A.
 2. Barsar (Bhasar) fort sarkār Nānder, sūba Bīdar, cf. Atlas 14A.
 3. Ḥayāt s/o Zakariya (Afghan) held the rank of 500/500 in 1656, Waris, 260(a), as cited in Apparatus, S., 7079.

prising why the increase of ranks recommended for them in recognition of their meritorious services rendered during Hyderabad campaign, and upon condition of the faujdāri of mahāls which have always been discharged by officers of higher rank, has been rejected. It is evident from high ranks held by some of the Afghāns that the promotion in zāt (rank) is not violative of the norm (az zabita-berun niht). God be praised, Aurangzeb has never indulged in making improper recommendations all this time. What then are the reasons for the non-acceptance of the increase in their ranks? Since both of them are efficient Khānazād officials, and have received salary for some time (on enhanced ranks), they have also taken to brand the (larger) contingents required under the Regulations and have discharged their assigned duties. As of now too they are serving under Aurangzeb with a suitable contingent. If their enhancement is not approved as per the recommendations they will be unable to meet the (resultant) Imperial claims (mutālaba), and the expenses which they have incurred will greatly affect their condition. When people know that Aurangzeb's recommendations to the Imperial Court carry no weight, how will they again risk their lives and how would Aurangzeb be able to assign any charge to anyone. Solicits I'tiqād Khān's intervention in pleading for increase of rank of Fath and his brother to His Majesty and immediately despatch the sanad of acceptance of their man-

sab from the date recommended so that both of them could exert themselves loyally in Imperial service.

11.5 Appointment of Abu'l Fazl Ma'mūri (1656, p.599):

Informs him that the thānadārī of qasba Lādsangwi,¹ a pass on the route to Khāndesh and Berār was previously held by Sa'īd Khāndeshī² and nine other mansabdārs. Since they failed to discharge their duties properly. Abul Fazl Ma'mūri, an efficient Imperial official, was appointed to the post and the rāhdārī of the road to Jālna³ which passes through the Lādsangwi tract. Fifty sawār, conditional, have been reduced from the rank of Sa'īd and others Abul Fazl's rank has been raised from 300/70 to 400/100 by adding 100/30. Asks I'tiqād Khān to represent Abul Fazl Ma'mūri's good service and promotion to His Majesty, in case the same has not been reported from the daily news (roznāma-i waqāi') from here, recommend his case and communicate the Imperial orders and approval of increase (in his mansab) to the mutasaddis of the sūba, so that they may not delay in issuing the sanad for the additional jāgīr against the enhanced pay-claim.

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1. Qasba Lādsangwi (so in modern maps, but in Persian sources Lādsangwi) in sarkār Jālnapur, sūba Aurangabad. Cf. Atlas, 55.
 2. Sa'īd Khāndeshī not identified.
 3. Jālna or Jālnapur sarkār in sūba Aurangabad, Atlas, 55.

11.6 Recommendations for Abu'l Fazl Ma'muri (1656, p. 606):

Since Abul Fazl Ma'muri¹ is a Khānazād deserving favours and he has discharged the duties assigned to him in an appropriate manner, and since he has also exhibited his efficiency in this last campaign, he has, now, been assigned the faujdāri of Onkāpur² consequent upon the transfer of Hayāt son of Zakariya, who held the rank of 500/600. An increase of 100/100 has been recommended upon condition of holding that post enhancing his original and additional rank to 600/700. Solicits I'tiqād Khān's intercession in representing his case to His Majesty and getting the sanad for increase in his rank.

Letters to Shāh Beg Khān

Assignments of Parganas to Shāh Beg Khān (1656, p.746):

In view of the transfer of his entire mahāl at the time of realization of revenue Aurangzeb had thought of assigning pargana Varvāl³ in lieu of his two mahāls, for his salary. Now that he has made a request for the assignment of pargana Bīr, this has been accepted and the pargana has been

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1. Mīr Abul Fazl Ma'mūri (Irānī) held the rank of (500/200) in 1656-7, Māris 270(a) as cited in Appratus 3., 7116; Ḥālīh, III, 484.
 2. Pargana Onkāpur not traced.
 3. Pargana Varvāl sarkār Nānder sūba Bīdar. See Atlas, 56.

assigned to him in jāgīr. Directs him to make his endeavour for the increase in cultivation and prosperity of that excellent and large pargana which Murshid Quli Khān has made extremely prosperous within a short period due to his commendable efforts. Instructs him to send his son Muḥammad Amīn there along with 100 sawār and himself come to Aurangzeb's camp with the remaining contingent.

12.2 Administration of Konkan (1657, p. 744):

Informs him that it has been reported to Aurangzeb that the agents (gumāshtas) of Mullā Aḥmad,¹ former Governor of Konkan, who are still in control of Konkan, have erected a new fort on the border of Junair. Accordingly Mamrez,² faujdār of Junair, an official of Aurangzeb and other Imperial officials having jāgīr in that area, have been ordered to proceed to that place and completely demolish the fort. Directs him, as already communicated by Murshid Quli Khān, to despatch his son along with 200 men to reinforce Mamrez.

Mulla Ahmad, former Governor of Konkan, was the leading noble of Bijāpur who was subsequently given the rank of 6000/6000 on the recommendation of Mirzā Rājā Jai Singh, Ālāmgirnāma, 919-920.

Mamrez not identified.

13. Letters to Fazil Khan.¹13.1 Tribute from Chināreri Deshmukh of Pargana Indūr (1653, pp. 636-9):

Acknowledges the 'arzdāsht' issued according to the Imperial orders in regard to the case of the peshkash of Chināreri,² deshmukh of pargana Indūr³ based on the report of Mir Ṣālih,⁴ son-in-law of the late Islām Khān. Aurangzeb observes that the said pargana belongs to suba Telingana, and came into Imperial possession in (Shāhjahān's) 2nd R.Y., along with that territory. Since the said deshmukh rendered meritorious services the late Khān-i Daurān represented to His Majesty that during the regime of Nizāmshāhīs (dar zamān-i iyālat-i be-Nizām) the jama' of this pargana had been increased to 2,2000 huns and 37,000 rupees and payment of such a sum is difficult for the peasantry. Accordingly on Khān-i Daurān's recommendations, the jama' of Indūr in the first year was fixed at 20,500 and odd huns, and subse-

1. 'Alāu'ī Mulk Fāzil Khān (Irānī) (2500/600) was the qilādār of Delhi and Mir-i Sōman in 1653, Wāriṣ, 192(a), as cited in Apparatus 3., 6027.
2. Chināreri was the surname of the deshmukhs of pargana Indūr.
3. Pargana Indūr (Nizāmābād) sarkār Telingāna ṣūba Berār, Atlas, 15A.
4. Mir Ṣālih (1500/500), was the S/L of Shāh Nawāz Khān, 13(b), Ālamgīrnāma, 45.

quently year after year to 30,270 huns, as is seen from the Imperial farmān issued to Chināreri on the recommendations of Khān-i Daurān. Till 9th R.Y. that pargana remained attached to the Khālisa Sharīfa, and accordingly the above 30,270 and odd huns were deposited in the Imperial treasury. During these five years the late Khān-i Zamān,¹ owing to changes in the (rupee) rate of the hun, once obtained an additional sum of) Rs.55,000, and once the late Khan-i Daurān during the seige of Ūdgīr fort² collected a small amount of Rs. 4,000 as peshkash, in addition to the stipulated jama' from Chināreri. From Kharīf Sichqān Īl, 10th R.Y. when this pargana was asigned to Aurangzeb in jāgīr till 11th R.Y. Chināreri deshmukh went on giving the same amount as was realized under the Khālisa Sharīfa and had brought Rs.50,000 as nisār (offering) during his attendance (at Aurangzeb's headquarters). At the beginning of 12th R.Y., he died a natural death, leaving no son and was succeeded by his son-in-law who possessed himself the entire property his predecessor had accumulated from the time of the Deccani rulers. In lieu of this favour and assignment of the office of deshmukh of Indūr to him and his designation as Chināreri an amount of Rs.2,50,000 as peshkash to Aurangzeb was fixed on

1. Amānullah Khān, Khān-i Zamān, Khānazād Khān, Bahādur s/o Mahābat Khān, Sūbedar of the Deccan, in 1635, Lāhorī, I (b), 62, 97, 135.

2. Ūdgīr fort in Sarkār Nānder, Suba Bīdar, Lāhorī, I, 1, 413 & I, 11, 136, 140, etc.

him. Aurangzeb reported this fact to His Majesty at that very time. During his deshmukhī till 12th the jama' of the pargana remained the same.

Afterwards Aurangzeb's officials due to their endeavour increased the jama' of Indūr by 1500 huns. Since the deshmukh considered the increase in jama' as detrimental to the peasants and the cultivators, he promised to pay the additional amount as peshkash. For four years till 17th (regnal) year he paid Rs.40,000 huns per annum to Aurangzeb. In 18th (regnal) year when Khān-i Daurān became the Governor of the Deccan he recommended a reduction in the jama' of Indūr and handed over the tasdīq (certificate) to the revenue contractors (mustājirān) of the pargana to the effect that in the first year they were to pay 33,000 huns, in the second year 35,000 huns, and afterwards every year 37,000 huns. This arrangement was followed for one and a half years in the Khālīṣa Sharīfa and for one harvest (fasl) in the jāgīrdārī of the late Islām Khān. In the third year Islām Khān modified the settlement made by Khān-i Daurān and decided to take 40,000 huns which was the jama' fixed by Aurangzeb. In that time Chināreri also died and the present Chināreri became the deshmukh. Owing to mischief some wicked persons obtained his written consent to pay Rs. 1,00,000 over and above the jama', out of which he could pay Rs.40,000 with utmost difficulty with the remainder left

uncollected. As a result of this imposition which the peasantry is unable to bear the affairs of the pargana were completely disrupted. Subsequently, upon Islam Khan's death the pargana was assigned to Prince Murād Bakhsh. His 'ummāl (revenue collectors) did not collect more than 40,000 huns. After his transfer Diyānat Khān and Rāi Rāyān,¹ keeping in view the need of prosperity of the inhabitants maintained that jama' for three years. A large amount of arrears is due from the revenue farmer thereof from the date of the reassignment of the pargana to Aurangzeb.

If Mīr Sālīh in his report has termed 9,700 huns which were increased during the previous regime (first Viceroyalty) of Aurangzeb as peshkash there has been no difficulty in its collection. It has been taken that the mutasaddis of Aurangzeb obtained from him, as well as by the other jāgīrdārs and the diwāns of the Khālīsa Sharīfa. If he has reported anything else about this sum, it will be incorrect. Hopes that Fāzīl Khān will represent the matter in detail as written out here to His Majesty.

1. Diyānat Rāi, Rāi Rāyān (1000/150) was appointed Diwān of the Deccan in 1648 which he held till 1649, Waris, 45(b), 53(a), as cited in Apparatus, S., 4436, S., 5398.

13.2 Recommendations for Rūḥullah (1656, pp. 642-3):

Inform him that Rūḥullah¹ son of Muḥammad Yūsuf Khān posted in the Deccan has reported to Aurangzeb that he was appointed faujdār of Māndū² with the conditional increase of 500/400. Subsequently, he received an increase of 200 sawārs in recognition of his good service there. His original and additional rank was 1500/1000 which has been now retained at 1000/400; however, his additional conditional rank together with the subsequent increase was resumed (upon his transfer to the Deccan). Since he is an efficient soldier and the conditions of the jāgīrs of the Deccan are known, it is suggested that Fāzil Khān should represent his case to His Majesty on an appropriate occasion and make such endeavours that suitable favour should be shown to him so that he can confidently carry out his duties without losing his contingent.

14. Letters to Multafat Khān

14.1 Administration of Aurangzeb's Jāgīrs (1652, pp. 675-6):

Inform him of the assignment of the sūbas of the Deccan to Aurangzeb from the beginning of Kharīf Yūnt İl. One

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1. Rūḥullah s/o Muḥammad Yūsuf Khān Tāshqandi (Turāni) (1500/1000) was demoted to 1000/400 in 1656, Wāris, 265(a), as cited in Apparatus 3., 6903.
 2. Pargana and sarkār Māndū in sūba Mālwa, Atlas, 9A.

of Aurangzeb's officers Muḥammad Tāhir has been ordered to go there in advance of the Prince's retinue. A nishān has been sent to Diyānat Khān that till his (Tāhir's) arrival he should post knowledgeable karorīs in the mahāls of the jāgīr of Aurangzeb under his Dīwanī. 'Expects that Multafat Khān would also send honest karorīs to jāgīrs assigned to Aurangzeb for salary through Imperial farmān. He should instruct them to be warned of doing anything attracting the Prince's censure and to bear in mind the financial requirements of (Aurangzeb's) establishment, welfare of peasantry and increase in prosperity and cultivation. He should keep himself well-informed.

14.2 Instructions for the Management of Aurangzeb's Jāgīrs (1652, p. 677):

Informs him of his impending arrival to the Deccan. With God's aid Aurangzeb will justly treat and protect the inhabitants of that province who have been put in distress by the oppression of the governors. Assures him that whatever he proposes for properly administering that province will be accepted.

Muḥammad Tāhir who has left along with a group of officials on 19 Remazān will perhaps reach Burhānpur towards the middle of Zilhijja. Till that time the addressee should look after Aurangzeb's jāgīrs which are situated

within his Dīwani and appoint the intelligent and honest 'āmilis so that there is no shortfall in collecting revenue (māl-i wājibi) and the peasantry are not oppressed. Safeguarding the weak against the oppression of the strong, he should manage the affairs in such a way that the jāgīrdārs and the karoris would not oppress the peasantry and the weak. He should display a sense of justice and equity in every matter and do his utmost for the prosperity of the territory and the extension of cultivation.

14.3 Financial Assistance and Promotion of Officials (1656-7, p. 697-8):

Previously orders were issued to Murshid Quli Khān to pay Rs. 10,000 from the treasury of Aḥmadnagar as loan (musā'adat) to 'Abdul Munīm.¹ Trusts the money has been remitted. The addressee should deduct one thousand huns which he has paid to 'Abdul Muni'm for the expenses for the treasury (kharch-i tahwildāri), according to Murshid Quli Khān's authorisation (sanad) and pay the balance also to him so that his contingent does not leave him (for lack of pay). The sanad of money claim on Tirambak has been taken by his agent, who will dispatch it. Since Hoshdār was

1. 'Abdul Munīm not identified.

granted the faujdari of Chamārgonda,¹ Kaḍa² and Bist³ Aurangzeb has continued the previous conditional rank upon condition of holding the new posting. Let him see to it that Hoshdār performs his administrative functions properly and is vigilant.

15. Letters to Nasiri Khan.

15.1 Protection of the Peasantry and Favours to Officials (1657, pp. 727-8):

The addressee's action in leaving Aḥmadnagar and proceeding to the frontiers of Parenda has been approved, since this was done keeping in view circumstances of the time and advancing the Imperial interests. He should so apply himself to the possession and administration of the Imperial territories that the peasants and inhabitants may feel safe from the depredations of the enemy and wholeheartedly engage themselves in cultivation and that peace is established and the refractory elements do not dare to enter in that territory. Murshid Quli Khān's departure with a view to taking over administration of that terri-

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1. Bargana Chīmārgonda (Mod. Shrīgonda) sarkār Aḥmadnagar, sūba Aurangabad, Atlas, 14A.
 2. Bargana Kaḍā or Kaḍa Nimone in sarkar Aḥmadnagar, G.T. Kulkarni, The Mughal-Maratha Relations: Twenty Five Fateful Years (1682-1707), Pune, 1983, 37; cf. Atlas, 14A.
 3. Bist not identified.

tory has been postponed, and he has been directed by Aurangzeb to depute the knowledgeable officials for assuming and settling the peasantry and making proper arrangements for the carrying on of cultivation.

It was correct to leave behind Rāo Karan and Kārṭalab Khān in Chira¹ and Kala Jimune and to give the charge of thāna Kher² to Kārṭalab Khān. Since the administration of that territory has been left to him (Naṣīrī Khān), he should do whatever he judges to be proper on the spot.

'Abdul Muni'm Khān has been properly remunerated for his service; Murshid Quli Khān has been sent a nishān to give him a loan (musā'adat) of Rs.10,000 from the treasury of Ahmadnagar fort and send the sanad accordingly. The amount that he has already received, on the basis of the addressee's letter, shall be deducted from this. He should help him and keep him with himself. As recommended by him, Kārṭalab Khān's affairs are being looked into. The ḥaujdāri of Chamārgonda, Kāda and Bist was entrusted to Hoshdār. He has been instructed that contrary to past he should properly administer that territory without any neg-

1. Chira not identified.

2. Parwana Kher (Mod. Ganga Kher), sarkār Nānder, sūba Bīḍar, Atlas, 14A.

ligence. Walī Beg¹ and Amān Beg² would be granted tan-khwāh jāgīr in a suitable place. The physical verification of the soldiers of Īraj Khān will be made by Rustam, the Bakhshī of that army in consultation with Naṣīrī Khān. Similarly the branding of the horses of Sawāyat Trimbak Bhonsla³ is part of the duties of the bakhshī.

15.2 Salaries of the Officials (1657, p. 732):

The Wazīr (Mīr Jumla) has sanctioned cash pay for Īraj Khān and his brothers with effect from Khurdād (Ilāhi month), and henceforth they will be paid on this basis. Trimbak Bhonsla has received the entire pay for his man-sab and, in response to the addressee's recommendations Aurangzeb has granted Rs.4,000 as loan to him from the treasury of Ahmadnagar fort.

15.3 Promotion of Tātār Beg and Recommendation for Shivājī (1657, pp. 735-6):

Whatever has been represented about the abilities of Tatar Beg⁴ by the addressee has already been reported to

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1. Walī Beg s/o Sultān Beg (150-15) Hyderabad, 4190, as cited in Apparatus J., 6516.
 2. Amān Beg s/o Bahādūr Khān (Irāni) (1000-400), Ṣāliḥ, III, 468.
 3. Trimbak Bhonsla Maratha (1500/1000), Ālamgīrnāma, 48.
 4. Tātār Beg s/o Uzbek Khan, Ālamgīrnāma, 52 .

Aurangzeb who has granted him jāgīr in pargana Kada Nimune in lieu of his resumed jāgīr; and he has ordered dīwāns that he be given the certificate of assignment (sanad-i tankhwāhi). The additional pay-claim will also be allowed after receipt of the approval by His Majesty. Let him encourage Tātār Beg and keep engaged in his duties so that he may be duly rewarded. The addressee had been ordered by His Majesty to report about all those who had fought with him so that they could be promoted accordingly. Let him make representations to the Court about his brother and Rustam Khān. Appreciates his reply in response to the accursed Shiva's letter. Although his extermination is necessary, (and) he cannot be pardoned after such contumacy, yet if he agrees to act in confirmity with the addressee's letter, and sends a trusty representative, and should his requests be worthy of consideration, these may be reported to Aurangzeb.

15.4 Administration of Parenda (1657, p. 737):

Since Parenda with its environs along with the entire territory of Konkan-i Nizāmūl Mulki has been annexed to the Imperial dominions, and all the forts and the mahāls would be shortly occupied by the Imperial armies, it is necessary to console the peasantry and protect that territory from plunder and rapine, the addressee should proceed

there forthwith with the object of occupying and protecting the villages and mahāls of that area and see to it that neither the Imperial armies nor the revenue officials and governors (havāldārs) of Bījāpur should cause any harm to the inhabitants of that territory.

16. Letter to Muhammad Beg.¹

16.1 Mīr Jumla's Retainers and Recruitment of Soldiers (1656, pp. 787 - 9):

The retainers of Mīr Jumla, who have lost their horses and who have one horse (yak-aspa), represented that they should be given musā'adat. The Prince has ordered that musā'adat cannot be granted. To such of those as have lost their horses and are judged competent by him, and to those who have one-horse, and wish to be two-horsed (do-aspa), he may pay one month salary in advance in addition to one month salary which was sanctioned as due to the new retainers so that whosoever does not possess any horse should purchase one and whoever requires a second horse should arrange to have it. He should recruit and maintain as many Bundela infantry and Baksariya rocketeers (bāndār) etc. as he can, after proper selection. Those residents of Karanpura, who do not devote themselves to the work of erecting the fort,

1. Muhammad Beg (Turāni) (1000/600), Ṣāliḥ, III, 466.

will not be lagging after Rāo Karan has passed through Burhānpur.

He should conciliate the people of Shāh Ganj¹ and others who have complained and enquire into the reason of the complaint. If the realization has been made according to the assessment (taujiḥ) and no irregular exaction has been made, their complaint is baseless. If, however, more than the stipulated amount has been exacted by muhalladarān (heads of mohallas), officials of kotwāl khāna, leading men and chaudhuris, the true facts should be ascertained by him and he should secure what is due to the sufferer and punish the oppressors, so that it should serve as deterrent to others. The construction of the fort is designed for the welfare of the lot of the inhabitants and the people. They cannot be allowed to avoid payment of the amount assessed on basis of the old rules, at the same time. Directs him (Muḥammad Beg) to make utmost effort for expeditious completion of the fort. In assessing the tax equality should be followed, none should be oppressed and the people should not be compelled to pay more than what was rule in the past. If additional amount is required after spending the amount collected in tax it should be

1. Shāh Ganj in Burhānpur sūba Khāndesh.

spent from the Imperial treasury. Karan Kachhi¹ who hoping for royal favours, has arrived at Burhānpur should be sent to this Court. He has been sanctioned Rs. 2,000 from the treasury of Hāndia. If he has not received the said amount it should be paid from the treasury at Burhānpur, and he should be given leave to come to this Court.

Aurangzeb further directs Sulṭān Beg to recruit competent men numbering about 500 horsemen and 500 infantry in concurrence with Luṭṭfullah² in addition to his regular contingent. Muḥammad Beg should write to Luṭṭfullah Beg to act accordingly. He should grant one month salary out of the revenues of sarkār Bijāgarh that have reached him to all the horsemen and infantry recruited by Sulṭān Beg³ on suitable salaries (ulūfahai-munāsib).

Karan Kunji or Karan Kachhi (1500/1500) was the Zamīndar of Mālwa, Ālamgīrnama, 52, 92; Hatim Khān, 15a, 20a, 28b.

Luṭṭfullah s/o Ṣādullah Khān (Ind.M.) (700/100), Wārīs, 269(a), as cited in Apparatus s., 7043; Ṣāliḥ, III, 478.

Sulṭān Beg s/o Shāh Muḥammad Beg (100 zāt) SDSR, 202.

G L O S S A R Y

- AFRĀD-I DEHSALA: Comparative revenue statements of past ten years giving the jama (assessed revenue) and area or estimation of net revenue yielding capacity of different territories on the basis of which these were assigned in jagir. Irfan Habib, 'A System of Trimetallism & C', in J.F. Richards' (ed.) The Imperial Monetary System of Mughal India, 144.
- AHDNĀMA: Treaty, for detail see Momin, 53.
- AMAL: Revenue collection or the period when a person has been a revenue collector so that an event may be described as happening during the amal of a particular official. Irfan Habib, 'Evidence for Sixteenth Century Agrarian Conditions in Guru Granth Sahib', IESHR, Vol. I, No. 3, 1964, 72n.
- AMIL: Official incharge of both the assessment and collection of the revenue. Goswami & Grewal, The Mughals and the Jogs of Jakhbar, 63.
- ARZDĀSHT: Supplication, a petition or an official communication addressed by a subordinate to his superiors. N.A. Siddiqi, Land Revenue, 5n.
- ĀWĀRJĀ: Balance, document listing individual jāgīr holdings within each pargana for a particular point in time. These documents were usually drawn up in order to ascertain the available revenues open for reassignment to mansabdars. J.F. Richards 'Official Revenues and Money Flows in a Mughal Province', The Imperial Monetary System of Mughal India, 209.
- BAKHSHIUL MAMĀLIK/MIR BAKHSHĪ: In charge of awarding mansab and checking mansabdars' contingents through the dāgh system; and controller of intelligence, Apparatus, XXV.
- BAKSARIYA: Infantry soldiers and "Clubmen of Zamindars". Cf. William Irvine, The Army of the Indian Mughuls, 168.
- BARĀWARDĪ: Ordinary sawār rank, I. Habib, 'Mansab System', IHC, 1967.

- BILMUQTA: Lumpsum, at the same figure permanently. Agrarian System, 175.
- CHAUDHURI: The hereditary zamindār held responsible for the collection of revenue in each pargana, CEHI, I, 58.
- CHHINT: Chhint (Hindi) Chit (Pers). Any cotton cloth (usually calico) with floral or other patterns printed (by block-stamping of resists or mordants and subsequent dyeing) or painted (by brush or pencil called qalam) Atlas, 69.
- DĀGH: Branding of the horses for checking the contingents of mansabdar at musters.
- DĀK CHAUKI: The official postal organisation, dāk being the word for post and chauki signifying relay-stations for runners and horses. I. Habib, 'Postal Communication in Mughal India', cyclostyled volume of Aligarh Papers on Indian History, 1985, 54.
- DĀROGHA: Superintendent of any department Steigass A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary, 497.
- DĀROGHA-I PESHKASH: Officer in charge of receiving peshkash (gift) made to the Emperor. The term peshkash included ceremonial offerings as well as the levy or annual tribute paid by the chiefs and subordinate rulers. Cf. Apparatus, XXV.
- DĀROGHA-I TOPKHĀNA: Corresponding to Mīr-i Ātish Chief of the Artillery, Apparatus, XXV.
- DASTŪRU-L 'AMAL: Schedule of cash revenue rates. Shireen Moosvi, 'The Zamindars' Share in the Peasants' Surplus & C', IESHR, Vol. XV, No. 3, 1978, 359; 'The Evolution of the Mansab', JARS, 1981, 173.
- DAUL-I JĀGĪR: Jama of jagir, cf. Agrarian System, 222n.
- DESHMUKH: A hereditary revenue village officer. He was to maintain an armed body of retainers and assist in the collection of land-tax. Richards' Mughal Administration, 27.

DESHMUKHI: It was a kind of in'ām which was hereditary in character and peculiar to Maharashtra and Deccan only and it was made in terms of the dāms of the income of certain parganas in consideration of a stipulated peshkash presented to the Emperor. The right implied a share in the revenue amounting to 9 or 10 percent. Mughal Chancellery, 99; Agrarian System, 349n.

DIWĀN or WAZĪR: Wazir-i Kul or Diwān-i Kul. Minister in charge of Imperial finance, jāgir assignment and revenue collection. Apparatus, XXV.

DU-ASPA SIH-ASPA: A trooper with two horses receiving higher pay than the ordinary (barāwardī). This additional do-aspa sih-aspa came into use under Jahāngir for the first time and theoretically it was a part of the sawār rank. Apparatus, XIII.

DUNIYADĀR: 'Men of the World'. The Mughals always insisted on calling "Adil Shāh" "Adil Khān" and Qutb Shāh "Qutbul Mulk" and from Akbar's time onwards both of them were styled duniya-dars, being worldly men Agrarian System, 183.

FARMĀN: This term is applied to every royal missive that issued from the sovereign on the chancellery bearing the Imperial tughra and seal. S.A.I. Tirmizi, Medieval Indian Diplomats, IHC, 1982, 3-4.

FAUJDĀR: Commandant of a territory. Incharge of law and order. Apparatus, XXI, XXV.

FAUJDĀRI: Military command, Agrarian System, 181.

GIRĀSYA: Originally he had been servant of the state, holding a revenue assignment similar to the jāgirs of the Mughal period, but later indistinguishable from that of the bhumia (allodial proprietor). Agrarian System, 143.

HĀL-I HĀṢIL: The actual realization of the revenues. Shireen Moosvi, IESHR No. 3, 1980, 331. Agrarian System, 178n.

HARKARA: Spy; an attendant upon men of rank, also employed to go on errands; a messenger, Steingass, 1496.

HASBUL AMR: Orders issued on behalf of the princes, Agrarian System, 282n; cf. Momin, Chancellery and Epistolography Under the Mughals, 98.

HASBUL HUKM: Imperial orders issued through court officials or Minister's order on oral instructions of the Emperor, Agrarian System, 282n.

IJĀRADĀR / MUSTĀJIR: Revenue farmer/contractor, Agrarian System, 235.

INĀM: When a jāgir is assigned not against a rank, but as inām, free bestowal, without placing the assignee under any obligation. I. Habib, 'The Social Distribution of Landed Property in Medieval India', 124.

JĀGIR: Transferrable territorial revenue assignment to the mansabdar. A tract of land which the King grants to mansabdars and persons of that kind, they might take its revenue (mahsul) from cultivation, whatever it be, Bahār-i 'Ajam, Nawal Kishore, 283, as cited in Agrarian System, 257; cf. Shireen Moosvi, The Economy of the Mughal Empire & c., 196.

JAMA': (Literally meaning 'gathered together, aggregate, total The estimation of tax income or the expected net revenue, i.e. the gross realisation less charges of collection and other allowances for subordinate right holders. Shireen Moosvi, 'Share of the Nobility in the Revenue of Akbar's Empire' 1595-6, IESHR, No. 3, 331.

KALĀNTARĀN: Literally "big ones"; members belonging to dominant elements, CEHI, 248.

KĀK̤KHANA: Workshop and store establishment. S.M. Jaffar, Some Cultural Aspects of Muslim Rule in India, 88; Economy of the Mughal Empire, 262.

KARORĪ: Revenue-collector of the khālisa, the Imperial revenue establishment, Agrarian System, 275-83.

KHĀLISA-I SHARĪFA: Lands and sources of revenue reserved for the Imperial treasury, Agrarian System, 259.

KHĀNAZĀD: Lit: those born of persons already slaves of the Emperor, a primary claim on a mansab was thought to vest in the sons and close kinsman (khānazād) of those already in service, Apparatus, xxi.

KUROH: The Persian form of Sanskrit Krosa. The standard imperial kuroh often called Kuroh-i Padshahi represented a length of a little over 2½ miles, Atlas, xiii.

MAHĀJAN: Merchant-usurers, professional money-lender. Irfan Habib, 'Usury in Medieval India', Comparative Studies in Society and History, VI, No. 4, July 1964, 394.

MAHAL / PARGANA: The two terms being practically synonymous ordinarily stand for the smallest territorial division within the Mughal empire, (Atlas, IX). Pargana is essentially territorial division; mahal a revenue unit. All parganas were mahals, but the word mahāl was also applied to certain specified sources of revenue such as port or market taxes, Economy of the Mughal Empire & c., 10.

MAHĀL-I TAN: Territories from which salary is to be paid by jagir.

MĀL-I WAJIBI: The authorised land-revenue, CEHI, I, 242.

MANDAVI: Trade centre market. Richards' Mughal Administration in Golconda, 186.

MANṢAB: Numerical rank, the number assigned to a man during the Mughal period; basic unit for determining status, pay, and military obligations. Cf. Shireen Moosvi, 'The Evolution of Mansab', JRAS, No. 2, 1981, 173; M. Athar Ali, 'Towards an Interpretation of the Mughal Empire', JRAS, No. 2, 1978, 40.

MANSHUR: A royal receipt and a mandate, Momin, 54.

- MIR BAKHSHĪ / BAKHSHĪ-I MAMĀLIK: In charge of the awarding mansabs and checking mansabdars' contingents through the dāgh system and controller of intelligence. Apparatus, xxv.
- MUSĀADAT: Advance made to a mansabdār, loan, Agrarian System, 269; Mughal Nobility, 52; Usury in Medieval India', 410.
- MUTĀLIBA: Claim of the Imperial exchequer for amounts owed to it by the jāgirdārs, Agrarian System, 267, 269.
- MUTAṢADDI: General designation for official. But specially applied to the customer of the Ports of Cambay and Surat. Apparatus, xxv.
- NIṢĀR: Gifts offered by the nobles to the Emperor, Mughal Nobility, 144.
- PAIBĀQI: Lands temporarily in charge of the Imperial officials pending assignment to jāgirdārs, Athar Ali, Review of J.F. Richards' Mughal Administration in Golconda, OUP, 1975, Journal of Asian Studies, 1976, 159; cf. Agrarian System, 285-9.
- PESHKASH: Fixed annual tribute; large present or a cash offering, additional to any revenues which the chief might have to pay to the court, Agrarian System, 181, 184-5, 289.
- RĀHDARI: Tolls and cesses exacted by the various authorities controlling the routes, Agrarian System, 67.
- SARKĀR: Administration of a prince or a noble; sub-division of a province, Agrarian System, 282.
- SAZĀWAL: Persons deputed by the central government for the execution of the orders, Z.U. Malik, Reign of Muhammad Shah, 293.
- SELA: Shella, selaes. High priced cotton stuff, A'in-i Akbari, I, 108.
- SIH BANDI: Troops employed by the nobles for a temporary period for collection of land revenue and police duties, Nigar Nama-i Munshi, 93.

- SUBEDĀR: This and other designations such as nāzim, hākīm, sipahsalar and sahib-i suba were used for the Governor of a suba, Apparatus, XXVI.
- TAAHHUD: A pledge given by a prospective official about the amount he would assess or collect, Agrarian System.
- TAKHFIF: Abatement in revenue, Mughal Nobility, 77.
- TALAB: The annual total pay claim, I. Habib, 'Mansab Salary Scales Under Jahangir and Shahjahan', Islamic Culture, July 1985,
- TANKHWAH-I JĀGĪR: A jāgīr assigned in lieu of the salary due to a mansabdar, Mughal Nobility, 75.
- TAPPA: A combination of few villages named after the largest of the villages under its jurisdiction; sub mahāl, Yāsin's Glossary Br. Mus. Add. 6603 f. 55(b); B.R. Grover, 'Raqba Bandi Documents Under Akbar', IHRC, XXXVI, Pt. II, 59.
- TAQĀVI: (Literally, strength giving), loans made by the government to cultivators, a term used in the Mughal administration for advance for the cattle and for sinking wells, I. Habib in CEHI, 65; The Mughals and the Jogis of Jakhbar, 97n.
- TAṢHĪḤA: The minister's certificate verifying the horses, arms and armours maintained by a mansabdar bore the signatures of the Diwān and the Bakhshi, Momin, 93-9.
- THĀNA: A military or a police post. A.J. Qaisar, Medieval India-A Miscellany, II, 72.
- THĀNADĀR: Officer-in-charge of a military or police post, CEHI, 244.
- TOPKHĀNA: The artillery department which included all fire arms not only but also muskets and rockets whether handled by horsemen or infantry, Ma'asir-i Alam-giri, tr. J.N. Sarkar, 329.
- WAQĀI': The news reports of the waqāi' nīgār, I. Habib, Postal Communication in Mughal India, 65.

WĀQI'Ā NAWĪS: News-writer or official entrusted with sending reports of all public business and other news. Usually the office was combined with that of the bakhshī of the suba and the official was a subordinate of the Mir Bakhshī. He appointed his own agents (gumashtas), Apparatus, xxvi.

WĀṬAN JĀGĪR: The chiefs who obtained mansab, their old dominions were known as their wāṭan, Mughal Nobility, 79.

YĀDDĀSHṬ: A note, memorandum, memorial (Wilson, Glossary, 800).

ZAMĪNDĀR: Persian compound meaning holder of land used for any person with any hereditary claim to a direct share in the peasants' produce, CEHI, 244.

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